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PLATE I

a, b. FRONT AND PROFILE OF SUMERIAN STONE FIGURE OF A LADY, PROBABLY FROM EAST OF TIGRIS. B.M. No. 116,666. (After Gadd in *British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 2.) See p. 63.

EARLY HISTORY OF ASSYRIA

TO 1000 B.C.

BY

SIDNEY SMITH

OF THE DEPARTMENT OF
EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES
THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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TO THE MEMORY

OF

L. W. KING

. . . Antiquities are history defaced, or some remnants of history which have casually escaped the shipwreck of time. . . .

Antiquities, or remnants of history, are, as was said, *tanquam tabula naufragii*, when industrious persons, by an exact and scrupulous diligence and observation, out of monuments, names, words, proverbs, traditions, private records and evidences, fragments of stories, passages of books that concern not story, and the like, do save and recover somewhat from the deluge of time.

BACON, *Advancement of Learning*, Bk. II.

PREFACE

PROFESSOR L. W. KING died in 1919 without having commenced the third and final volume of his great work on the history of Babylonia and Assyria. On my return from Mesopotamia in 1923 I undertook the task of completing Professor King's work on the instance of Dr. Hall, Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum. There was no means of ascertaining the original plan, save from the indications provided in the first two volumes, and the material doubtless accumulated was not accessible to me. In planning the work afresh it became clear that, to maintain the scope and manner of the previous volumes, it was necessary to divide the history of Assyria into two volumes, and to that procedure the publishers have very kindly consented.

Direct information concerning the early history of Assyria has been considerably increased during the last eight years. The results of the excavations for the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft by Dr. Andrae at Qal'ah Sharqāt and Tulul 'Akir are being slowly published. The main part of the historical texts appears now to have been edited by the late Dr. Messerschmidt and by Dr. Schroeder, though other texts are appearing spasmodically, in photographs or sometimes, unfortunately, only in transliteration. It has proved impossible to await further publication, and the account of the evidence actually available is incomplete, so far as unpublished objects and inscriptions are concerned.

The Assyrian state was a comparatively late development, and the course of its individual growth can only be understood by a consideration of long

centuries when the land was part of a greater whole. It must therefore not be deemed surprising that a considerable part of the book is devoted to the prehistoric and early Sumerian periods, when the land of Assyria was not a separate entity. The sources of evidence for these periods have very greatly increased, largely owing to combined English and American excavations, since the first volume was written. The aim in this part of the work has been to give such a general account of recent discoveries as will supplement, without unnecessarily repeating, Professor King's *Sumer and Akkad*, in the hope that the reader will be placed in possession of the most necessary information to bring the whole work up to date. The excavations of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania Museum at Ur, and of the Herbert Weld (for the University of Oxford) and Field Museum of Chicago Expedition at Kish are still in progress; from their further work, and the publication in a fuller form than has yet been possible of their results, the earliest stages of civilisation in the river valleys are sure to be more fully understood in the near future.

Assyria was very closely connected from the earliest period with Syria and the lands of Asia Minor immediately beyond the Taurus. The continually increasing publications of the business documents of the trading firms whose headquarters lay in the city now marked by the mound Kul Tepe, outside Caesarea (Mazaca), have emphasised the importance of that connection for the period about 2000 B.C. With some reluctance, an account of the present position of the study of those documents has been given, as being inevitable in any consideration of early Assyria. But I would here expressly warn the reader that my own opinions upon many of the questions involved are but half-formed, and that I am becoming increasingly unable to accept any results based upon too confident translation of these documents. The importance attached to the question is likely to increase rather than decrease as time passes, and that must be the excuse for the space devoted to the matter.

This constant concern with Syria and Asia Minor is exemplified by the centuries during which Egyptians, Hittites and Mesopotamian kings struggled for dominance in Syria. The indirect evidence for the history of Assyria is of such a nature that it must be considered. That evidence is now derived not only from the Egyptian records and the 'Amarnah letters; the archives of Boghaz Keui have supplied documents of first-rate importance, especially those in the Akkadian language and in the speech of the Hittites, the proper name of which is unknown. This latter language has been brilliantly deciphered by Professor Hrozný of Prague, and he has been followed by a small but energetic group of scholars in Germany. It has been the fashion in certain quarters to treat the translation of these Hittite texts with the same scepticism as fell to the lot of the decipherers of Assyrian. That scepticism I am unable to share. The main sense of the texts is assured owing to the curious nature of the writing, and certain results may be safely used for historical purposes. But when some authorities would derive results from the exact significance of a word, I have been unable to follow. And, above all, the geography of Asia Minor appears too doubtful to allow of the bold generalisations as to the exact course of events that some have outlined. A few districts can be located approximately on the evidence supplied by the texts; but the complete reconstruction of the geography sometimes attempted depends for the most part on identifications with place-names of the Greek, Roman, and even Mohammedan periods, a method the soundness of which I deny. Those place-names of Asia Minor known to us from Assyrian documents of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. are not to be found in the Hittite documents, and are rarely identifiable with names of the Greek and Roman periods. There were cataclysmic changes therefore in the geographical nomenclature, and identification of names can only be attempted when the location is first proved identical. The truth of this general statement might be supported in detail by showing the complete opposition of the latest treatments

of the subject. This scepticism as to the results of geographical study of the Hittite empire has prevented the inclusion of much that may finally prove relevant to the theme.

The question of chronology, discussed at length in the two previous volumes, has had to be reconsidered. There are at present two schools of opinion on this subject, and they differ by about a century in the dating of the First Dynasty of Babylon. I have without hesitation followed in the main the scheme proposed by Dr. E. F. Weidner, which alone seems to me reconcilable with the data supplied by inscriptions and excavations. Results from the city of Ur alone have convinced me that it is impossible to assume any long gap between the First Dynasty of Babylon and the accession of the first Kassite king ; and the Assyrian synchronisms cannot be explained away. I have therefore rejected the proposed astronomical dating of the First Dynasty of Babylon, and therewith any attempt to fix dates ; the scheme adopted in this work is admittedly liable to a large margin of error. Should at any future time an astronomical date be finally fixed and universally agreed upon, it will probably prove rather later than the dates here given, if my doubts about the arrangement of the Kassite kings in the lists are justified. To Dr. Weidner's constant labour on the subject of chronology, then, the sketch of the subject given in the Appendix is mainly due, though it is stated on lines rather different from his. The late period, from 1000–612 B.C., has necessarily had to be considered, and there the invaluable works of Father Kugler, Dr. Schnabel, and Dr. Forrer have been utilised.

The results of linguistic study are occasionally mentioned. Assyriology has not yet advanced so far that all the results embodied in the dictionaries and grammars are certain. The nature of the writing, even when syllabic, does not allow, in certain cases, of certainty. The general view of English scholars has been, if I rightly understand the matter, that words were written as they were pronounced, and that there was a great variety, and even laxity, in pronunciation.

Modern Continental scholars seem inclined to deny these differences in pronunciation, and to reduce the Akkadian language to a strict formalism, while assuming endless idiosyncrasies in writing. Theories based on language are notoriously insecure, and in view of the great cleavage of opinion are the more so on the subject of Akkadian. But I have not hesitated to express the broad general opinion that there were considerable differences between the Assyrian language and Akkadian, on which there is general agreement, and that the documents from Asia Minor and from east of Tigris are couched in Semitic dialects spoken by men unable to pronounce all the Semitic consonants, a personal opinion. Perhaps the most urgent need of Assyriology is an historical grammar of Akkadian and a comparative study of the early Semitic dialects in the cuneiform documents.

Considerable space is necessarily given to archæological matters. In the absence of any contemporary account of the time, valuable information is to be derived from material remains, and it should be impossible in any history of the earliest periods to divorce the consideration of the historical facts recorded and the evidence from excavations. Once again, doubts as to the method of argument sometimes adopted deserve mention. In certain cases the theories advanced are explained and differed from, in some accepted; but not a few have been deliberately omitted. On the other hand, some personal views will not be accepted, but they have been expressed in the hope that the discussion of them may advance knowledge. The highly speculative chapter on the origin of the Assyrians embodies views that were formed in the course of the years 1920 and 1921, when they were expressed to my colleagues. That any theory on such a subject should only be accepted as correct after most stringent criticism is the writer's earnest desire; the chapter has been included in the belief that current assertions and assumptions need testing. The restricted scope of this work, which is confined to a consideration of Assyria and of international matters from an Assyrian standpoint, differentiates it from the quite recently

published general histories of Western Asia. Little space could be devoted to Assyria in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, still less in Dr. Hall's *Ancient History of the Near East*, works which are invaluable for other reasons. Since this book has been printed, I have received a copy of professor Bilabel's work, *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Agyptens vom* 16–11 *Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Heidelberg, 1927), in which a limited period of Assyrian history receives full treatment. Of this I have been able to take some account in the notes, though far more must have been said had the exigencies of printing permitted. On the other hand, Professor Olmstead's great *History of Assyria* contains all that the reader needs to know upon most of the questions involved; and Professor Rogers' *History of Babylonia and Assyria* is particularly useful to the Biblical student. I have therefore attempted to state the case from a different point of view. Deliberately omitting most, and only briefly mentioning other, questions which concern Palestine and the problems connected with that land, an attempt has been made to trace (1) the course of political development by which the city of Ashur finally developed into the Assyrian state, (2) the influences exerted upon Assyria by means of trade intercourse. The evidence of political development and that of commercial activity are alike scant, but both existed. Scholars have yet to turn to Assyria for light upon many subjects, and fully to appreciate its position in human history.

Assyrian history indeed occupies a curious position in modern studies of the ancient world. The first important archæological researches in Western Asia took place on Assyrian soil; a large part of our knowledge of the history of all Western Asia is due to documents from that land. Those acquainted with the material can hardly doubt that thorough and extensive excavations on more Assyrian sites would provide historical information to complete some of the gaps in history. Yet a very distinguished authority has said, "There is less call for research in the Assyrian period and land than there is in the other civilisations." The statement arises from a natural antipathy for

the course of Assyrian development, and for the character of their civilisation, shared by nearly all modern writers. The present writer cannot pretend to have any enthusiasm for Assyrian kings or armies; Assyrian and Babylonian religion and literature alike seem to him to have exercised a disastrous influence on the world in the centuries just before and after the birth of Christ. The immediate task is not to indulge moral indignation, but to learn how the Assyrian state became what it was, and to understand the civilisation it best represented. More extensive researches in Assyria would be repaid by more historical information than any other land in Western Asia is likely to provide.

On such a subject, in which, despite all recent work, there are long periods of time about which we have no information, and such information as we have only lends itself to inference, speculation is apt to appear as fact, and theories once accepted are only with difficulty discarded. The attempt to view the history objectively, to base everything said on the evidence available, has doubtless failed, owing to faults of preconception and prejudice. Even the effort accurately to distinguish the certain, the probable, the possible, can hardly have been completely successful. "Perhaps" and "possibly," "it may be" and "it is conceivable that" appear in these pages too frequently to satisfy the ear, not frequently enough for rigidly exact statement. The not infrequent repetitions and reconsiderations are due to a desire to remind the reader of various elements in the question at issue.

The bibliographical notes have been placed at the end of the volume. They are not complete. Students will find them useful, if they are used in conjunction with the general bibliographies in the *Cambridge Ancient History* and with Professor King's critical notes in the previous volumes. Much has been deliberately, much ignorantly, overlooked.

To Dr. Hall the inception of this work was due. I have continually sought his advice, and am very much indebted to him for his help in illustrating the

book; he has given me permission to use many photographs and to publish many others. To my friend and colleague, C. J. Gadd, I would here offer a tribute of gratitude for the self-sacrificing assistance he has continually afforded; to his sane judgment and impartial criticism I have had constant recourse. Mr. S. R. K. Glanville has helped me by translating Egyptian texts of importance for the subject, and has warned me against several errors. The completion of the book is due to the constant encouragement I have received from Sir E. A. Wallis Budge and the late Lady Budge, on very many occasions; and the main idea developed in this study, of the supreme importance of the control of the trade routes for the states of Western Asia, is derived from conversations with Sir Wallis Budge seven years ago.

To the Keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities I am indebted for permission to publish many objects in the British Museum; to Mr. C. L. Woolley, for kindly placing at my disposal photographs of certain objects from Ur; to Miss Mögensen for the very kind permission to publish an early Sumerian figure in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek; to Halil Bey, Director of the Osmanli Museum, Constantinople, similarly for Plate XIII; to the late Dr. D. G. Hogarth, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, for Plate III, *b* and *c*, and Plate VIII, *a*; to Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archaeology in India for permission to publish a drawing of a seal from Mohenjo Daro; to R. S. Cooke, Esq., Honorary Director of Antiquities in Iraq, for the photograph of a brick from Sadawa; to the President and Council of the Royal Asiatic Society for permission to use the block of Fig. 12; to the firm of Paul Geuthner for permission to reproduce from de Genouillac, *Ceramique Cappadocienne*, tome II, pl. 2, 5, 23 bis, and 8; to W. de Gruyter & Co., for Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, Band III, pl. XL and XLIV; to the Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft for the right to reproduce from Andrae, *Die archaischen Ischtar-Tempel*, pl. 15 *a*, 14, *c*; from *Stelenreihen in Assur*, pl. IX, *b*, from Reuther, *Die Innenstadt von Babylon*, pl. 75, *d*, and 76, No. 133,

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The maps and drawings have been executed by my wife, who has spared no pains to secure accuracy; where errors, more especially in the maps, may be found they are due to my own lapses.

SIDNEY SMITH.

London.
August, 1927.

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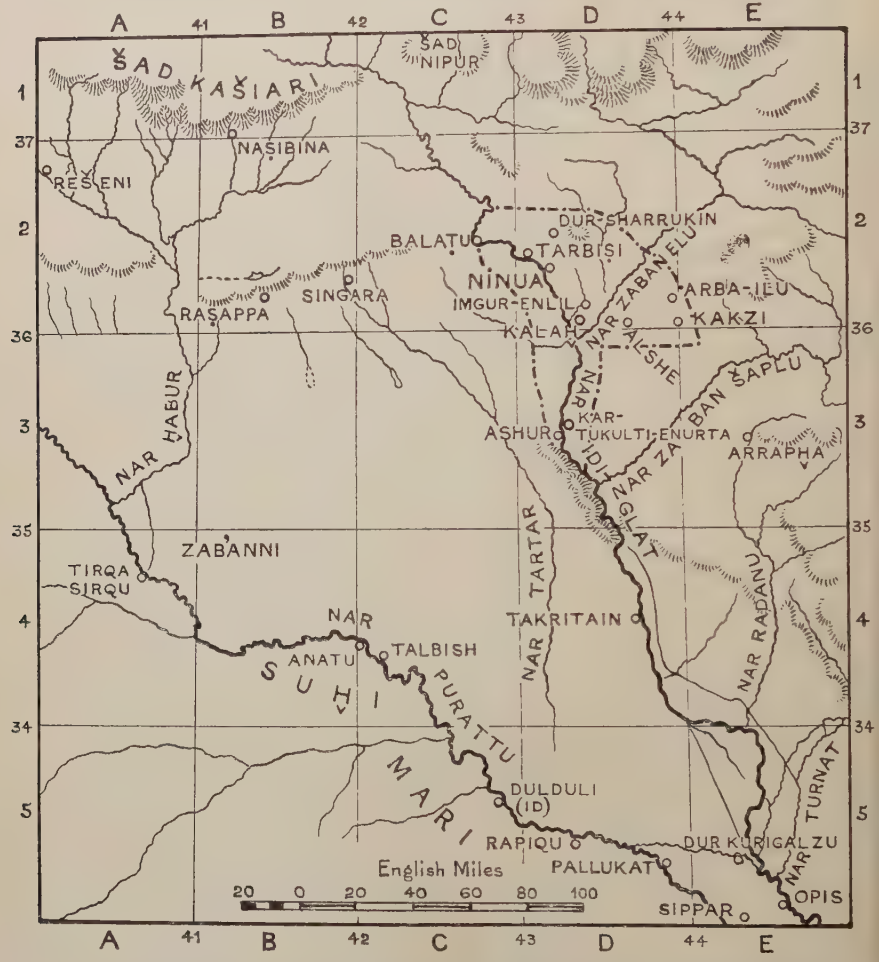
EARLY HISTORY OF ASSYRIA

CHAPTER I

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD IN ASSYRIA

THE land of Assyria consists of the valley of the Tigris from about the village of Balad to the mouth of the lower Zāb river. The southern half of the country, from the mouth of the upper Zāb to the mouth of the lower Zāb, consists of the narrow valley of the Tigris, with the steppe extending to east and west. This steppe land is admirably suited to the requirements of a nomad population, dependent for existence on the raising of domesticated cattle and the hunting of wild animals; but towns, with a population dependent upon agriculture, trade markets, and sedentary industries, could only exist on the river-bank itself. For many centuries now no such town has existed, and the river valley is not distinguished from the steppe by the labour of men devoted to agriculture. The northern half of the land, from Balad to the mouth of the upper Zāb, resembles the southern half only on its western side. There the steppe has remained throughout the ages the abode of the nomad. But the country which stretches eastward about the latitude of Irbil for some fifty miles is different in nature. That land is eminently suited to reward the labour of those who will settle down to tilling the soil. The upper Zāb, a violent stream during the winter months, remains at a level useful for irrigation until about April, and the torrents which flow down the innumerable *shais* about that time, owing to the melting of the snows on the eastern

hills, serve to prolong the possible period of cultivation until a date much later than is possible south of the latitude of 36°. To this suitability for agriculture



No. 1.—The Land of Assyria in its Smallest Extent. Modern names of towns: *Alshe*, Shamāmokh; *Arba-ilu*, Irbil; *Arrapḫa*, Kirkūk; *Ashur*, Qal'āt Shirqāt; *Balaṭu*, Eski Mōsul; *Dur-Sharrukin*, Horsabad; *Imgur-Enlil*, Balawāt; *Kalaḫ*, Nimrūd; *Kakzi*, Sadawa; *Kar-Tukulti-Enurta*, Tulul 'Aqir; *Takritain*, Takrīt; *Tarbiṣi*, Sharīf Ḫan.

there is added to the Tigris valley in this section the advantage of a natural trade centre. Routes from north to south, east to west, intersect at some point in this part of the valley. The river itself affords

sufficient explanation of the trade route from north to south. The route from east to west is largely determined by the Zāb and its tributaries on the eastern side; on the western side, there is a natural, well-watered route to the Ḫabur valley past the Sinjar hills.

North and east of this plain lies mountainous country. Rich in the fauna which supply the hunter with his means of existence, and in various kinds of stone which are the most prized possession of primitive man, this territory has been inhabited ever since natural conditions first allowed of its habitation, long before the river valley and the western steppe had emerged from the vast sea which at one time covered it. Able to sustain mankind at a time when existence elsewhere was impossible, the mountains offer a sufficient though laborious existence to men even when richer lands are within their reach; but there is a natural tendency to descend into the plains, once their richness is discovered. History is a record of the effort of the mountaineer to invade, of the inhabitant of the plain to resist invasion.

The land of Assyria, then, consists of a narrow river valley, which extends in the north across an alluvial plain to the mountain ranges. The northern and eastern borders roughly correspond to natural features. The western border is marked throughout the whole length of this section of the valley by a steppe only suited for nomads, sparsely populated by people who have no disposition to settle down to agricultural pursuits, and cause no greater danger or inconvenience to settled inhabitants than arises from a disposition to plunder caravans and resent the presence of strangers. Themselves immune from attack by the mountaineers of the north, who would have nothing to gain from any aggression, these nomads present a problem to the settled people of the plain different in nature from that on the northern and eastern borders. To impose on them the recognition of such law and order as commerce demands, to prevent their alliance with the mountaineers in the hope of temporary gain, requires methods different from

those necessary where self-defence entails perpetual conflict.

To the south, the river continues to divide the great steppe until it reaches the latitude 34°, about the point where the river 'Adhaim joins the Tigris. This territory is a nebulous borderland between the settled area of the north and the settled area of the south, and therefore is the natural place for the preliminary struggles of the one to assert predominance over the other. In those struggles the peoples of the eastern hills must also engage, for the control of the passes is concerned. In this area the northern people fight, not for existence, as against the mountaineers, not for control, as against the nomads, but alternately for independence or supremacy.

This land of Assyria, while having no definite boundaries marked by precise natural features, is in a manner defined by the characteristics of a settled population. But that population from the earliest times must have consisted of heterogeneous elements. Thus mountaineers who force their way into the plain and settle there, while akin to the mountaineers and conscious of their kinship, will resist further encroachment by their own race. Nomads as a whole may be unwilling to settle to a life they despise; but individual members of nomad tribes frequently elect to do so. And in the reverses of fortune which attend continual struggles for supremacy between two peoples, the settled people of the south must have occasionally planted elements of their own stock in the northern area, there to be absorbed through intermarriage. Apart from these three elements, it is probable that an area like Assyria will be subject to sporadic invasion; that is, that some peoples who have migrated in hordes at various periods, should be attracted to this plain, and leave some settlers there. Such unity as may be observable, therefore, in this land is due rather to geographical situation than to racial circumstances; it is the nature of the land which induced man to settle there, its position which promoted his development of industries in the prosecution of trade. Any invader, once settled, will soon be identified, at first by interest,

and later by necessity, with the existing inhabitants. But even so, unity could only be attained by a political development, and was not imposed upon Assyria, as upon Egypt, by natural circumstances.

No remnants of the palaeolithic stage of man's existence have yet been found in Assyria, though this may be accidental. Implements said to belong to that era have been found in the Euphrates valley,[1] near Dair-az-Zūr, and in the Syrian desert; and the land of Assyria may have been inhabited at the same period. The discovery of the skull of a very primitive man in Galilee,[2] possibly confirms the assumption that man roamed over the lands of Western Asia at a very early date. During the natural disturbances which drove mankind to the mountainous recesses of Asia Minor, and possibly of Syria, the whole area appears to have been inundated. Long after the Tigris, and its tributary rivers, when the inundation receded, formed the land into its present configuration, there came into the plain men who used hand-made pottery, painted with geometrical designs and conventionalised representations of natural objects, and flint tools of a type which betrays the knowledge of metal.[3] The discovery of pottery and flints of this kind on the sites of Nineveh and the city of Ashur and at Sāmarrā proves that in the north, as in the south, man already had settled on land suitable for agriculture, and dwelt in cities. As to the date of this settlement, only an approximate *terminus ante quem* can be fixed. The pottery and flints of the northern area of settled habitation are clearly analogous to, though not absolutely identical with, the similar objects found in the southern area (see Fig. 1). Now the excavations at Ur have proved that this civilisation preceded the epoch of the First Dynasty of Ur, which must have ruled before 2900 B.C., if only a decade or two. The evidence of epigraphy, apart from objects indicating an advanced knowledge of metal, is sufficient to prove that the lapse of time necessary for the development of the new civilisation was very considerable, some centuries at least. From this it would seem reasonable to infer that the

primitive man who painted pottery cannot have lived later than 3000 B.C. and more probably lived earlier, about 3500 B.C.

It has been stated that the painted, hand-made pottery found on the sites of Nineveh and the city of

FIG. 1.

Hand-made painted pots, partly restored, from Al ʿUbaid, near Ur. (After drawings by the late F. G. Newton.) See pp. 5–8.

Ashur is analogous to, but not identical with, pottery found in the southern area. Similar pottery has also been found in the Ḫabur basin and in Northern Syria. The examination of this pottery has led to various conclusions; some have compared different classes of

PLATE II

ELAMITE POTTERY OF THE FIRST PERIOD FROM THE NECROPOLIS OF SUSA.
After Délég. en Perse, Mem XIII, pl. v. See p. 7.

pottery found at Susa, Anau, in Beluchistan, India and China, while others, differentiating between different styles, oppose the pottery found at Ashur and in northern Syria to that found in the south. A special view would find analogies between the pottery of Southern Babylonia and the "first" style at Susa, and would oppose to this the "second" style at Susa, in which northern affinities are traced. The arguments are not in themselves more conclusive than the deductions drawn from flint-forms, and are insufficient ground for any statement of historical fact. The chronology of the various types of pottery is extremely doubtful. Only one common element can be found in all the statements about the hand-made pottery painted with geometrical patterns discovered in Assyria, Syria and Babylonia. In each case the pottery is associated with a period when flint implements were in use, though metal shapes had influenced their form. With the increasing use of metal, the painted pottery disappears, and is replaced by buff pottery, sometimes incised, sometimes plain. It is therefore just to assume that the pottery in every case belongs to the end of the neolithic and the beginning of the metal age, the period sometimes called chalcolithic. The most appropriate term for this age all over Asia is "the painted pottery age," that the salient unifying characteristic of the time may best be understood. The problems of inter-connection and local development are too difficult to permit of inferences being drawn from their solution.

How difficult these questions are may be briefly illustrated. Numerous clay objects shaped like sickles have been found in Southern Babylonia in connection with the painted pottery, and the fact that in certain cases bitumen has been found adhering to the inside curve suggests that small flint chips found loose with them formed the cutting edge. A wooden sickle with such an edge has been found in Egypt; it may belong to the period of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is possible that similar sickles from Anau and Susa are to be explained in this way. But the evidence does not permit of any certainty, and the question of inter-

connection which such an unusual type would raise must be left on one side at present.

The scanty remains of this age are curiously isolated wherever they appear in Western Asia. It is at present impossible to deduce the course of events which intervened, either in Assyria or Babylonia, between the painted pottery and flint implement period and the time when men were far advanced in the working of metal, and the art of writing. What wars were fought, what invasions may have passed across the territories concerned, we do not know. But there is evidence at Ur that there was no complete breach in the development of civilisation, for the same ground that marks the prehistoric cemetery was occupied by a shrine to the goddess of the underworld, with a cemetery surrounding, in the historic period. At Kish and Ur, painted pottery has been found in connection with very early tablets, inscribed with linear characters of the earliest Sumerian type. Similarly, the sites at Ashur and Nineveh remained inhabited; if any invader came and settled, he adopted what he found.

Excavations in Assyria have failed to reveal any objects which belong to the period 3000–2700 B.C. But it must be remembered that various reasons combine to create this artificial gap. The rebuilding at Nineveh by Sennacherib involved the construction of a large new platform, under which all earlier work lies. The remains of an extreme antiquity are buried many feet deep in the centre of this platform, and only by a systematic destruction of later work could the earliest remains be recovered; the fragments of painted pottery and the flint implements were chance finds. At Ashur, after a considerable expenditure of money and time, the excavators only dared to examine a small portion of the earliest remains, and these must be dated approximately to 2750–2650 B.C. The absence of finds belonging to an earlier period is due to the necessarily accidental nature of limited archaeological research. It is not, therefore, surprising that a lapse of some four hundred years must be allowed between the prehistoric pottery and flint implements

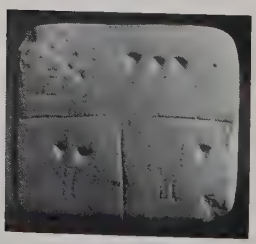
in Assyria and the remains that most nearly approach them in point of time. Some part of the history of civilisation during that period can be traced very clearly in the southern area, and it is therefore necessary to summarise the results of excavations there, that the course of history may be complete.

CHAPTER II

THE REMAINS OF EARLY SUMERIAN CIVILISATION

THE primitive man who used painted, hand-made pottery and flint implements gradually passed in Babylonia, during an interval the duration of which cannot be exactly estimated, but was probably short, into a stage of civilisation best designated as Early Sumerian. The Sumerian people is so named because their language was called Sumerian in later ages, and because their land, confined from 2500 B.C. to Babylonia south of Nippur, was known as (*mat*) *Shumeri* as opposed to the northern part of Babylonia, (*mat*) *Akkadi*. What name they applied to themselves is not known, nor is it certain how far the (*mat*) *Shumeri* of later times corresponds to earlier conditions. That in the period 3500–2700 B.C. there was a homogeneous civilisation spread over the whole of Babylonia is abundantly clear from excavations[1] at Kish (Tall al 'Uḥaimir), Shuruppak (Fārah), Nippur (Nuffār), Adab (Bismiah), Ur (Tall al Muqayyar) and Lagash (Tall Loh); and that the people spoke the agglutinative Sumerian language is proved by the inscriptions. The statuary and reliefs of this early period depict a people clearly identical in physical appearance with the "Sumerians" of later date, well known from the monuments of Gudea, the governor of Lagash, about 2400 B.C. The term "Sumerian" must not, however, be understood to mean that all the inhabitants of Babylonia in their earliest period were derived from the same stock. They are, it is true, distinguished from the desert nomad and from the earliest people in Babylonia known to have used Semitic language, by their appearance and to some extent by their dress and customs, as well as by their language; but it is

b



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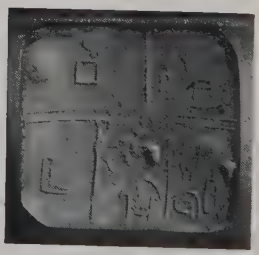


PLATE III

a. Stone figure of a man squatting, possibly representing Kur-Lil, the doorkeeper of the granary of the temple of Ninhursag at Tall 'Ubaid. From Dr. Hall's excavations. B.M. No. 114,207. (After Hall in *Al 'Ubaid* Plate IX). See pp. 14-15.

b, *c*. Obverse and reverse of stone tablet with pictograph inscription. From Kish. In the Ashmolean Museum. (By kind permission of Dr. Hogarth, Ashmole's Keeper.) See pp. 11-12.

impossible at present to say if, and how far, different racial elements combined to produce this particular type; it may, for instance, be true that the Sumerian speech was imposed on another race. In any case the Sumerians cannot have been indigenous in Babylonia, as some believe; man came into the alluvium below 'Anah at a comparatively late date, whence we may never learn.

A considerable number of variant views have been advanced as to the "Sumerian" race. The Sumerian language has been held to show that this people were Turanian (Mongoloid), Caucasian, and even African (Bantu), while some have detected Indo-European elements.[2] On the ground of physical appearance Mongoloid or Dravidian affinities have been suggested. Physical anthropologists seem united in treating the extant skulls of early Sumerians as being closely akin to modern Arab types.[3] No one of these views can be supported by conclusive evidence, and it may well prove that accurate deductions cannot be drawn from the language, for the reasons already stated. The question of racial affinities admits of no answer. In addition to the evidence for their appearance afforded by the monuments, the term "black-headed" applied to man by the Sumerians perhaps shows that they were exceptionally dark as compared with some of their barbarian neighbours.

The earliest known document in the Sumerian writing has been found at Kish.[4] It is a stone tablet, on which the signs are, with the exception of the numerals, pictographs which may easily be identified in most cases (see Plate I, *b*, *c*). The head in profile, the hand, the foot, the membrum virile are represented much in the same way as in other hieroglyphic scripts. Of greater interest are the signs which represent an object on a sledge, and a man squatting in a hut, the roof of which is domed. The sledge is a natural means of transit, and is well suited to riverine conditions; it remained in use in Egypt throughout the periods known as the Old and the Middle Kingdom, but (if ever used) disappeared in Babylonia when the chariot and wheeled cart were introduced, before the time

of the First Dynasty of Ur.[4] The hut with the roof presumably consisting of daub and wattle is probably a sacred edifice, for the sign continued through three thousand years to denote a holy building. The sacred building is nearly always of an earlier, rarely of a contemporary type; it is not therefore necessary to conclude that, at the time when the tablet was written, men built only in daub and wattle. But the picture is at least an interesting memorial of a time before brick-making was invented. The earliest method of wall building, of which excavation has revealed a specimen at Ur, consisted in banking up wet mud, and leaving the construction to dry in the sun. The Sumerians abandoned this practice at a very early period, save possibly for the roughest work, but in the course of time fate has decreed that man shall revert to his primitive ways in this early home of civilisation; the harim of many a sheikh to-day is built so. The drawing of the figure of the priest in the hut is noteworthy; one involuntarily thinks of certain Egyptian hieroglyphs which resemble this squatting figure very closely. There is no ground for connecting the scripts; it would be equally rash to deny the possibility of a connection. This stone tablet was written, clearly, at a time when the Sumerian writing was in its initial stage, and need not have been written long after that writing was invented or introduced. One fact of supreme importance may therefore be regarded as established: the Sumerians began to write after they had settled in the alluvium, and did not bring writing with them. Whether they invented the writing or borrowed its main features is not definitely settled. The documents found at Susa, written with signs called "Proto-Elamite," belong to periods when the Sumerian linear and cuneiform characters were also in use in that city, and it would appear that the two scripts had independent origins. The discovery of this different script at Susa renders it improbable that Sumerian writing was derived from Elam.[5]

The stone tablet was found in a very early Sumerian building, and proves, were it not clear from other

PLATE IV

STONE FIGURE OF A MAN. PROVENANCE UNKNOWN. In the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek (By kind permission of Miss Mögensen.) See pp. 14-15.

evidence, that other objects discovered there are typical of the earliest Sumerian period. When the building was restored, some objects of great interest were discarded and thrown amongst a heap of debris. Originally these objects cut out of white limestone were parts of a frieze, inlaid on a slate background. The plaques were scenes depicting a king slaughtering his enemies, men engaged in attending to domestic cattle and perhaps in dairy work. The king is represented as bearded, and of a facial type different from early figures found elsewhere, a fact which serves to emphasise the consideration that the Sumerian civilisation, even in the earliest period, included heterogeneous elements. The people depicted in these plaques used burnt bricks of the plano-convex type for their buildings, and were able to build on a very extensive scale. The tablet alone is sufficient proof that in point of time they lived long before the First Dynasty of Ur, and it is not fanciful to associate the remains with the traditional First Dynasty of Kish.

The development of the writing out of the hieroglyph stage, which may be roughly dated about 3500 B.C., can be traced on clay tablets found at Shuruppak.[6] The forms of the signs tend to become extremely complicated, but remain linear. Writing on stone of this archaic period is also extant, and remained more simple than the cursive style employed on clay. The epigraphical evidence alone requires a considerable lapse of time between the earliest Sumerian remains at Kish and those of the First Dynasty of Ur, discovered at Tall al ʿUbaid.

The temple of Nin-ḫur-sag, the goddess of the underworld, is situated about four miles west of the city of Ur, and was built by A-anni-padda, the son of Mes-anni-padda, the founder of the First Dynasty of Ur, in exactly the same style as the much earlier building at Kish. Local conditions alone introduced one variation. A rough limestone is available at no great distance from Ur, and was used for the foundations of this small temple. The outer walls of the building were decorated with three friezes, of which two consist of an inlay of limestone and shell in bitumen,

similar to, though not in the same style as, the frieze with a slate background at Kish. The peculiar importance of the discoveries at Tall al 'Ubaid consists, however, in the proof of the stage to which metal working had advanced at this period. The large and small copper figures of animals in the round and the copper reliefs are beaten out upon a bituminous mixture, but some of the animal heads were cast. The implications of this fact, if the figures be carefully studied, are of some interest. Whatever the artistic value of the work may be, the men engaged upon it had considerable experience in modelling, were skilled in the process of casting, probably by the method of *cire perdue*, and were bold beyond their time in balancing their figures without the aid of supports. The practice of metal working as known to us in Western Asia throughout the centuries before the Hellenistic age represents no great technical advance on this work, which dates from about 2900 B.C.

In architecture the same kind of characteristic is noticeable. The panelled wall of plano-convex bricks was known long before the period of these remains; but here are found the earliest columns, consisting of wooden boles, encased in either copper or a mosaic of tesserae on bitumen. Such columns could only support a fragile construction, but they clearly stood free from the wall, and from these columns at a slightly later period there developed the strong columns built of burnt brick which are extant at Kish. The ingenuity and surprising audacity of this period is as obvious in the architecture as in the metal work.

From the standpoint of artistic development it is not surprising to find that the sculpture is far less advanced; the logical position of figures in stone carved in the round is much later than that of cast metal work and stone relief. Yet on historical and archaeological grounds it is of interest to note this fact, since it is of considerable importance in arranging a sequence in historical order. The stone figure found at Tall al 'Ubaid (Plate III, *a*) and one now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek[7] (Plate IV) are very primitive. The first figure is represented as squatting,

PLATE V

Stone Plaque with bas-relief, showing empty chariot drawn by asses (?) and guided by walking man. The weapons of the charioteer's "second man" are represented. The chariot wall is covered with a skin. The men's dress proves the early date, prior to First Dynasty of Ur. From Ur. (After Hall in *British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 6.) See pp. 15, 58.

the second is slightly raised on its crossed legs. They are executed in a porous stone, not difficult to work, but only the upper body is in the round, and even there the timidity of the early artist has left the bust an almost shapeless hulk. But the head has been treated not inadequately, and conveys, in spite of lack of proportion, a vigorous conception, if considered quite apart from its relation to the remainder of the figure. It is needless to insist that these figures must be older than the stone figures of the Ur-Nina dynasty at Lagash.

That the city of Ur existed and was the capital of the kings at the time when the temple at Al 'Ubaid was built, cannot be doubted. Conclusive proofs of this are afforded both by tablets found at Ur, and by the extensive cemetery used by people of this period. But below the level at which an inscription belonging to the time of Mesannipadda was found lay the burials of an earlier time, according to the account of the excavators, and in this earlier cemetery a profusion of finely worked copper and gold weapons and tools and a silver baldric were found. Seals of a type common in the pre-Sargonic period at Lagash are found in the same level as such magnificent and unique objects as an inlaid gaming-board. The evidence provided by the pottery seems to show that at the beginning of this period, which is earlier than the First Dynasty of Ur, the same type of pot was used at Ur as in the earliest period at Kish. It may be, then, that this intermediate period at Ur really represents the time when the First Dynasty of Erech ruled the land according to the dynastic lists, but any positive statements on this subject would be premature, and might be misleading.

Roughly, the early Sumerian period may be divided, on archaeological grounds, into four periods: (1) the earliest civilisation attested by the objects from Kish; (2) the period to which the tablets and other finds at Shuruppak (Farah) belong, and probably also the collection from the earliest cemetery at Ur; (3) the advanced culture of the First Dynasty of Ur, followed at an interval by (4) the period already fully described

in an earlier volume, which can be arranged round the chronology afforded by the Lagash rulers. Within this scheme objects from other sites such as Nippur, Larsa and Erech, can be roughly arranged in some sort of sequence. It will doubtless be possible to refine upon this scheme as documentary material is increased by excavations or publications.

CHAPTER III

THE SUMERIAN TRADITIONS OF THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD

TABLE I.—THE KINGS BEFORE THE FLOOD.

BEROSUS' LIST.

Name.	City.	Length of Reign.
Aloros	Babylon	10 sars=36,000 years.
Alaparos	,,	3 sars=10,800 ,,
Almelon [1]	Pautibiblon [5]	113 sars=46,800 ,,
Ammenon	,,	12 sars=43,200 ,,
Amegalaros [2]	,,	18 sars=64,800 ,,
Daonos "the shepherd"	,,	10 sars=36,000 ,,
Euedorachos [3]	,,	18 sars=64,800 ,,
Amempsinos	Lanchara [6]	10 sars=36,000 ,,
Otiartes [4]	,,	8 sars=28,800 ,,
Xisouthros [7]	,,	18 sars=64,800 ,,

[1] So the Armenian version of Eusebius. Syncellus and Abydenus apud Eusebium, Amelon. Abydenus apud Syncellum, Amillaros.

[2] So the Armenian; but one codex has Amelagaros. Abydenus apud Eusebium, Amegalaros, apud Syncellum Megalaros.

[3] Abydenus apud Eusebium, and apud Syncellum, Euedoreschus.

[4] An easy correction of the Greek would give Opartes. Eusebius apud Syncellum gives the form Ardates, as from Alexander Polyhistor; the parallel passage in Eusebius' chronicle proves that Ardates and Otiartes are one and the same person.

[5] Some Armenian codices give Parmibiblon. A Greek MS. also gives Pautibiblios.

[6] Armenian codices also give Ilanchara, Chanchara. A Greek MS. preserves the best spelling, Laranchōn.

[7] Also rendered Sisouthros and Sisythes.

LARSA LIST No. 1.

Name.	City.	Length of Reign.
A-lu-lim	NUN^{KI}	8 sars=28,800 years.
A-la(l)-gar	,,	10 sars=36,000 ,,
En-me-en-lu-an-na	Bad-tibira	12 sars=43,200 ,,
En-me-en-gal-an-na	,,	8 sars=28,800 ,,
Dumuzi "the shepherd"	,,	10 sars=36,000 ,,
En-Sib-zi-an-na (*i.e.* "the priest of Orion")	Larak	8 sars=28,800 ,,
En-me-en-dur-an-na	Sippar	5 Sars 5 Ners=21,000 years.
(?)-du-du	Shuruppak	5 Sars 1 Ner=18,600 ,,
8 kings	5 cities	SAR·GAL (60 sars) 7 sars= 241,200 years.

"The Flood came. After the Flood came, kingship was sent down from on high."

LARSA LIST No. 2.

Name.	City.	Length of Reign.
[A]-lulim	Ḫa-a^{KI}	18 sars 4 ners.=76,200 years
[A]-la(l)-gar	,,	20 sars=72,000 ,,
.....ki-du-un-nu Sa qin-qin	Larsa	20 sars=72,000 ,,
.....	,,	6 sars=21,600 ,,
[Dumu]-zi "the shepherd"	Bad-tibira	8 sars=28,800 ,,
[En-me]-en-lu-an-na		6 sars=21,600 ,,
[En]-Sib-zi-an-na	Larak	10 sars=36,000 ,,
En-me-dur-an-na	Sippar	20 sars=72,000 ,,
Su-kur-lam-[gi][1] son of Ḫubur-Tu-tu	Su-kur-lam^{KI}	8 sars=28,800 ,,
Zi-u(d)-sud-ra son of Su-kur-lam-gi	,,	10 sars=36,000 ,,
	The Flood.	
[10 kings	6 cities.	126 sars 4 ners=456,000.]

[1] This sign has been omitted by the scribe and is restored from the next line.

NIPPUR LIST.

Only the names of the cities extant.

Nun^{KI}.
Bad-tibira.
Larak.
Sippar.
Shuruppak.

THOUGH the remnants of the material culture of the early Sumerian period enable us to form a just estimate of the nature and development of Babylonian civilisation from about 3000 to 2600, and the existence of "pre-Sargonic" temple documents disclose something of the social conditions of the time, the history of the period is obscure. The most reliable source of information consists of the inscriptions of the governors of Lagash, who occasionally call themselves "king." The historical facts to be deduced from their records have been stated elsewhere. The Sumerians themselves had a tradition about the beginning of civilisation which was recorded by scribes at Larsa and Nippur during the rule of the Isin and Larsa dynasties over Babylonia. The contemporary inscriptions found at Ur have proved that, at any rate to some extent, the tradition rested upon an historical basis, and some account of that tradition must here be given. But the tradition covers a vast field, and commences with a circumstantial account

of the prehistoric, or in Babylonian language, prediluvian epoch.

The cultured, though superficial, Cicero laughed at the credulity of those Chaldaeans who claimed to have the written records of thousands of years, and doubtless intended a criticism of Berosus,[1] the Babylonian priest who wrote in barbarous Greek an account of his native country for the instruction of Antiochus I. Berosus' account was, however, a circumstantial one; he was able to name not only all the kings who ruled from the time of the Flood, but could give some account of the ten "kings" who ruled before that event, since he gives their native cities and tells of strange portents which occurred in their time. In this matter he was repeating traditions known two thousand years before his own time. During the period of great literary activity in Babylonia, about 2100 to 1900 B.C., long lists of Babylonian kings were compiled which commenced by giving the names of the rulers before the Flood.[2] Both the lists which are actually extant come from Larsa, but it is certain that such lists were also known to scribes at Nippur, though they did not always include the period down to the Flood in their dynastic lists. The coincidence of the list of names of cities where the pre-diluvian kings reigned in a list at Nippur with one of the lists from Larsa allows of the deduction that at Nippur some at least considered the canon to be very much the same as that given in the Larsa list (No. 1).

That Berosus was repeating an established canon can be deduced from the certain equivalences to be found in the Larsa lists. He is not of course responsible for the mangled forms of the names given by his excerptors. Alorus and Alaparos (which should be corrected to Alagaros) correspond with Alulim and Alagar; Berosus stated that these kings reigned at Babylon, and this depends on a New Babylonian reading of the actual cuneiform signs used by the scribe of list No. 1, which, when originally written, denoted Eridu. Almelon is a version of Enmenluanna, Ammenon must be a corruption of Enmengalanna,

and Daonos "the shepherd," also called Daos, adequately renders Dumuzi, Tammuz, pronounced in late Babylonian times Du'uzu; the town of Pautibiblon can be no other than Bad-tibira. Euedorachos is clearly Enmeduranna of Sippar; by some confusion of the copyists Berosus is made to state that this king ruled at Pautibiblon, and the error has extended itself to the next two kings, who are erroneously attributed to Lanchara, Laranchon, the Babylonian Larak. Amempsinos and Otiartes (Opartes) are corruptions of Berosus' version in Greek of En-Sibzianna and Ubar-Tutu, certain variant forms of the latter having been written in the two Larsa lists. These eight kings are common therefore to Berosus and the short list from Larsa, and the scribe of the latter seems to have considered the mention of Ziusudra, Xisouthros, unnecessary in view of his notice concerning the flood. There remains one name in the Berosus list which cannot at present be identified in the early tradition, that of Amegalaros or Megalaros of Pautibiblon. On the reason for this divergence it would be idle to speculate; the reliability of Berosus, however, must on no account be impeached, and if error exists in the list as we have it, the fault must lie with others.

The divergence between the two lists from Larsa presents a curious problem for criticism. Concerning the first two kings there is agreement so far as their names and their native city are concerned. The different ideograms, at the time the lists were written, both designated Eridu or parts of that city. The distinctive feature of the second list is the introduction of two names, and their attribution to Larsa; in this matter it is clearly opposed to the first list, to the remains of the Nippur list, and to the tradition of Berosus. It would be possible to conclude from this that the second list represents a view due to local patriotism, eager to find a place for Larsa among the pre-diluvian cities. This explanation would be satisfactory if thereby other divergences were accounted for; but it does not in fact do so. The inversion in the order of names which places Dumuzi before Enmenluanna, the omission of Enmengalanna, and the very curious insertion

of a generation between Ubar-Tutu and Ziusudra, which is opposed to the tradition not only of the other lists, but also to the Gilgamesh Epic, cannot depend upon patriotic motives alone. There is the curious difference in the numbers also ; in not a single instance do these coincide. The scribe of the second list did not therefore take the first list and wilfully alter it, simply to glorify his own city ; to all appearance he has recorded numbers, and probably names, based on authority which we have at present no reason to consider less than that of the other list.

What is the authority of either ? Very little, it must be admitted. The figures assigned to these pre-diluvian "kings" sufficiently connotes their mythical character. But more can be deduced from the numbers than this. Figures so enormous and so precise arise, not from the mythopoeic faculty of story-tellers, not from the vague descriptions of time common in legend, but from the speculations of learned men guessing about the unknowable. To parallel them we must turn to the hypotheses of the philosophic schools among the Greeks in the Hellenistic period. The figures attributed by the Hebrews to their patriarchs are comprehensible when compared with them. Now the only kind of speculation current in Babylonia which could lead to these figures concerned astronomical calculations. Babylonian theology, always dominated by an astrological element, must be held the true source of these lists ; from the stars priests read the early history of the world, and thence determined the length of these periods. What the nature of their calculations may have been has yet to be ascertained ; they certainly did not deal with the period of 25,920 years during which the sun apparently revolves through the twelve signs of the zodiac, for the precession of the equinoxes was not known to Babylonian astronomers until 314 B.C. at the earliest. The astronomical, or rather astrological, nature of these figures being beyond doubt, the suspicion that the names of the "kings" and the cities have a similar origin cannot be suppressed.

The suspicion may be supported by some of the

names, though not by all. In the first name the element *lulim* specifically means "the ram," and may denote the star called by us Andromeda. Dumuzi, Sibzianna, Duranna (or Duranki) also are names of stars. Granted the intention to invent names in connection with astrological speculations, the names containing these elements are exactly the kind that would be invented. But close consideration does not render this view probable; had the names been connected with astrological opinions, Berosus would surely have reported the fact, and his excerptors could scarcely have omitted to repeat him. And we are not at present in a position to deny that the names are possibly early, though they do not all seem so. Another kind of reasoning is perhaps justified by the appearance of Dumuzi, Tammuz, "the shepherd," in the list. The names may be representative of cults, and this may account for their association with certain towns. This receives some support from the identity of Enmeduranna with Enmeduranki. This latter was celebrated as a king of Sippar who founded the order of priests called *baruti*, "seers," and it was apparently necessary at the initiation of a "seer" that certain ritual acts should be undertaken by his command.[2] The "founder" of such an order is likely to be a mythical figure, but need not necessarily be so. An impartial consideration of all the evidence must allow the possibility that the names of these pre-diluvian kings and the city names associated with them may be based on evidence of their existence available to the Babylonians about 2300–2100 B.C. and unknown to us. In that case their names were connected with the figures arbitrarily, for some reason not yet apparent.

Berosus was in possession of stories about this period which were certainly connected with religious beliefs, magical in character. The stories concerned the appearance in different reigns, at specified periods, of creatures known by the generic name of Annedotos; they are given individual names, "the loathsome Oannes," then another like Oannes, then four together, Euedokos, Eneugamos, Eneubolos, Anementos, finally Anodaphos. Yet another name, Idotion, may be a

mangled version of Annedotos, and no certainty can be felt as to others so long as they are not certainly identified with cuneiform names. All these creatures appeared out of the "Red Sea," that is the Persian Gulf, and they had the bodies and heads of fishes, below which human forms appeared. Clearly these creatures must be in some way associated with Enki or Ea, the god who abode in the "sweet waters," and the composite creatures are parallel to, though not identical with, the forms assumed by some of the Babylonian representations of the demoniacal beings who served him, "the seven wise ones[3] who were before the Flood."

The literary form in which the first list from Larsa is cast deserves some attention. It opens with the statement "Kingship was sent down from on high. At NUN^{KI} there was kingship." The end of the dynasty at NUN^{KI} is stated after the total of kings and years has been given; "NUN^{KI} was overthrown, that kingship was established at Bad-tibira." This formula is repeated between each dynasty, and at the end the complete totals of the kings, cities and years are calculated. The impression given to the modern reader is that the scribe conceived the dynasties as consecutive, and the gross total of years as a period. But this method of totalling the years as if they were consecutive appears in the dynastic lists of later times. Thus the Larsa Dynasty, the Amorite Dynasty and the Sea-Land Dynasty, which overlap the one the other, were given totals of years as if consecutive. Again, the last four kings of the Fourth Dynasty of Kish, Lugal-zaggisi of Erech and Sargon of Agade were contemporaries, but no hint of this appears in dynastic lists which have exactly the same form as that of the pre-diluvian kings. The totals of years given in these summaries are really totals of the kings' reigns, whether they were sole rulers of Sumer and Akkad or not, and did not represent historical periods even for the Babylonians, who were perfectly aware of the true facts. What use the totals may have served is not apparent; but the magical speculation with numbers in which Babylonian augurs indulged may be the

reason for the care taken in this respect. The inference, then, that the pre-diluvian kings were considered successors the one of the other in Sumerian myth is not certain. There is a Sumerian text which narrates the origin of the five ante-diluvian cities ;[4] were the text complete it might prove that some of these "kings" were contemporaries. These cities were founded by a god, either Anu or Enlil, who gave them their names and assigned them to their tutelary deities, NUN^{KI} to Nudimmud (a title of Ea), Bad-tibira to NUGIRA, Larak to Pabilḫursag (unquestionably the deity sometimes called Pabilsag), Sippar to the Sun-god and Shuruppak to the god of that city. The subsequent events are broken away ; some fortunate discovery of the missing text will perhaps solve this particular problem.

The origin and meaning of the traditions about the pre-diluvian period are, then, sufficiently obscure. The story of the Flood is not less so. Does it represent some natural occurrence in the history of the alluvium ? Or is it a myth not related to fact in any way ? The attempt to answer these questions has led students of comparative religion to amass facts, state points of view, assert opinions. At present the answer does not lie in the province of history. Yet it is just to point out that the Babylonian conception of the pre-diluvian epoch and of the Flood was very similar to the views held about men's existence in the earliest stages and the disasters which intervened between the palaeolithic and neolithic periods by scientists to-day. For it is clear that men's existence before the Flood was in Babylonian belief wretched in the extreme, and only tolerable by reason of the constant aid of the water-god, Ea or Enki. The conception of a "Golden Age" and inverted views of mankind's progress are absent from cuneiform texts. But in one respect the Babylonians committed a seeming anachronism which is not surprising. The name of the second city, Bad-tibira, means "the Wall of the copper-smiths." This implies, as does the Hebrew story of Cain, that, at the time the tradition originated, the use of metal was universal, its absence

inconceivable. Yet in the pre-diluvian period, when, according to the tradition man was only beginning to learn the arts, the name Bad-tibira seems out of place. Strangely enough, the first use of copper must have preceded the First Dynasty of Ur by many centuries, and even in the age of the men who used painted pottery in Southern Babylonia the use of metal was gradually being introduced, so that we have no exact knowledge of any period before the metal age in that country. It is possible therefore that the tradition about Bad-tibira does represent an historical fact, that men already used copper when they first came into the alluvium. There are texts which prove that the seeming anachronism does not arise from ignorance or a false view of man's early civilisation. "Mankind," a Sumerian poem[5] declares, "when they were created, did not know of bread for eating, or of garments for wearing. The people walked with limbs on the ground, they ate herbs with their mouths like sheep, they drank ditch-water;" a view of man's origin which might be repeated to-day. In fact it would appear that at the time the lists of pre-diluvian kings were written, current conceptions assumed a very long period of development prior to the age of the kings.

The traditions of the pre-diluvian period are not historical, yet there may possibly be embedded in them some particle of fact. The interesting point about them is their approach, in some respects, to what is now believed to be a fair account of man's early history; their importance lies in the fact that they betray not the mythopoeic faculty which renders such traditions in other lands pleasing tales, but a speculative cast of mind, a pseudo-scientific mode of thought. They belong, in fact, to an intelligent and cultivated people.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRADITIONS OF THE EARLY SUMERIAN PERIOD

TABLE 2.—EARLY SUMERIAN CHRONOLOGY.

	Dynastic Lists (Larsa).	Years.	Variants.
	KISH (1)		
1	GA-UR	1200	Excerptors of Berosus.
2	GUL-la-^{d}NIDABA-an-na	960	Euexius, Euechios, 2400.
3	[illegible]		Chomasbelos, 2700.
4	[illegible]		
5	Ba[illegible]um		
6	[illegible]		
7	Ga-li-bu-um	360	
8	Ka-lu-mu-mu	840	Nippur, No. 5, Galumum, 900.
9	KA-ga-gi-ib	900	Nippur lists, Zu-ga-gib, 840.
10	A-tab	600	Nippur lists place these before Kalumuna.
11	A-tab-ba	840	
12	Ar-pi-um, son of a poor man	720	Nippur No. 3, Arpum.
13	Etana the shepherd	1500	Nippur No. 2, 635.
14	Ba-li-iḫ, son	400	Nippur No. 2, Waliḫ, 410.
15	En-me-nun-na	660	Bab. chron. AN-ILLAD. Nippur, No. 2, 611. Bab. chron. En-men-nun-na.
16	Me-lam-Kish, son	900	Bab. chron. Alam-Kishshu.
17	Bar-rak-nun-na, son of No. 15	1200	
18	Mes-za- ?	140	
19	Ti-iz-gar, son	306	
20	Il-ku-u	900	900 written as 75.
21	Il-ta-sa-du-um	1200	
22	En-me-en-bara-gi-si	900	
23	Ag-ga	625	Nippur No. 3, Ag.
	23 kings—24,510 years 3 months 3½ days.		
	ERECH (1)		
1	Mes-ki-ag-ga-še-ir, son of the Sun-god.	325	Nippur No. 2, Meskingašer.
2	En-me-kar	420	Nippur No. 2, Enmerkar, so also Sumerian myth.
3	The god Lugalbanda the shepherd.	1200	

TABLE 2.—EARLY SUMERIAN CHRONOLOGY—*continued.*

	Dynastic Lists (Larsa).	Years.	Variants.
4	The god Dumuzi, the fisherman of Ha·a.	100	
5	Gilgamish, lord of Kullab	126	
6	Ur-^{d}Nungal, son	30	Nippur No. 6 ends in -lugal.
7	Utul-kalamma, son	15	
8	Labasher	9	
9	Ennunnadanna	8	
10	Mes-he-de	36	
11	Me-lam-an-na	6	
12	Lugal-ki-aga	36	
	12 kings, 2310 years.		
	UR (1)		
1	Mes-an-ni-pad-da	80	
2	Mes-ki-ag-^{d}Nanna(r), son	36	Nippur No. 2, Meskiagnunna, 30.
3	Elulu	25	
4	Balulu	36	
	4 kings, 177 years.		
	AWAN		
	3 kings	356	
	KISH (2)		
1	Su-suda.....	201†	
2	Da-da-sig		
3	Ma-ma-gal-la	360†	
4	Ka-al-bu- ....., son of Ma-gal-gal-la	195	Ma-gal-gal-la must be identical with No. 3.
5	Ku·e	300	
6	Man-nun-na	180	
7	I-bi-ni	290	
8	Lugal-mu	360	
	8 kings, 3195 years.		Nippur No. 1, 3792.
	ḤAMAṢI		
	Ḥadanish	360	
	1 king, 360 years.		Nippur No. 2, 420.
	ERECH (2)		
1	En-uk-du-an-na	60	Nippur No. 2, gave three names.
	Kingship lasted 120 years. They ruled 480 years.		Double entry; unintelligible.
	UR (2)		
	.....		Nippur lists assigned 4 kings, 108 years.

TABLE 2.—EARLY SUMERIAN CHRONOLOGY—*continued.*

	Dynastic Lists (Larsa).	Years.	Variants.
	ADAB		
1	Lugal-an-ni-mu-un-du	90	
	1 king, 90 years.		
	MARI		
1	An-pu [Ilshu]	30	
2	..... -zi, son	—	
3	..... -lugal	30	
4	..... -lugal-gal	20	
5	..... -bi-im	30	
6	.....	9	
	6 kings, 136 years.		
	KISH (3)		
	Ku-^{d}Bau, a woman, wine seller	100	Kish places this queen at the head of the fourth dynasty.
	AKSHAK (Opis)		
1	Un-zi	30	

MAN escaped destruction in the Flood[1] by reason of the dissensions among the gods; taught by the water-god the art of building a *quffah* Ziusudra, later known as Uta-napishtim, preserved his family and goods, and when the Flood subsided, disembarked on Mount Nisir, whence his family returned to the river valleys. The Assyrians had no doubt as to the location of Mount Nisir; from the pass of Babite, the point near Hulwan where the Ḫurasan road enters the Persian hills, Ashurnasirpal II marched past Mount Niṣir to the city of Bunāsi, whence another pass led to the lake now called Zeribor. The Hebrews had another version; the Ark rested on the mountains of Ararat, that is somewhere in the hills south-east of Lake Wān, or, as Arabs say, the Judi Dagh.

The compilers of the dynastic lists[2] gave a very complete account of the period after the Flood; and their account of the matter is cast in the same form as has been discussed in connection with the list of

pre-diluvian kings. The lists must not be taken to imply that the dynasties were consecutive; in certain cases the Babylonians themselves knew that they overlapped. In addition to the formula introducing new dynasties there are occasional notes concerning individual kings; this fact implies that the lists are really abstracts from much fuller documents. As to the nature of the fuller documents, it is certain that they were not inscriptions of the kings themselves, for it is inconceivable that Sargon of Agade should have stated that he was a gardener, and the last king of the Agade dynasty, Shargalisharri, explicitly states that he was the son of Dati-Enlil, while the dynastic lists call him "son of Naram-Sin." A comparison of these dynastic lists with the chronicles written in the New Babylonian period is instructive, for in some points they coincide, and though the entries of the chronicles give more explicit, and more curious, details about the reigns, the nature of the entries is similar. One New Babylonian chronicle gave a list of these early dynasties of which only three names now remain. The last two, Fnmennunna and Alamkiššu agree tolerably with the early list; the first is not yet intelligible. It is possible that the early dynastic lists and the late chronicles both derive from a type of early record kept in the temples, of which we have yet no knowledge; the records of liver omens preserved in the temples may have served as such a source.

There are fragmentary lists of the dynasties after the Flood from three cities, Nippur, Kish, and Larsa. Where these fragments can be compared, they agree save for trivial differences in spelling and in the figures assigned to the different reigns; there can be no doubt that they all depend upon one original source, and there need be no hesitation in supplying the gaps in the best extant list, that from Larsa, from the other fragments. Since all these copies were probably written in the twenty-first century B.C., under the dynasty of Isin, it is reasonable to assume that the source was earlier. Where there are discrepancies in the lists they arise partly from scribal errors, possibly due to writing from dictation, partly from omissions. It is justifiable to

assume that the original wording of the source, the first list, can be inferred from the extant fragments.

In accordance with the conception of sovereignty current at the time of compilation, the new epoch after the Flood has to be introduced by the statement "Kingship was sent down from on high." The translation of Ziusudra to his unearthly abode made a legitimate succession impossible, a divinely approved usurpation unnecessary. "At Kish," the list continues, "was the kingship." There then follows a list of kings, twenty-three in all, who reigned amongst them for the space of 24,510 years 3 months 3 days. The oldest among them, Etana, achieved the respectable age of fifteen hundred, his most weakly successor survived one hundred and forty years. By what strange chance some one of the kings broke the otherwise admirable habit of dying exactly at the year's end we know not; the wretch at least had a symmetrical end, since he has added precisely three months, three days to the scores of his betters. The figures are historically worthless; but Berosus gave different figures which are even more incredible. The excerptors have, as is usual with them, produced corrupt versions of the first name, Evek'sios, Eveokhos, Euechoios; the second they agree in calling Chomasbelos. The Larsa list is our only authority for the cuneiform equivalents, and the reading is not quite certain. The point is of little importance; the excerptors agree in stating that Eveokhos (or otherwise) reigned 4 *ner*, that is 2,400 years, Chomasbelos 4 *ner* 5 *soss*, that is 2,700 years. The difference is typical of the figures given for this dynasty. They do not depend upon fact, but are an invention, though different in character from that which was applied to the pre-diluvian period. They may be compared with the ages attributed to the Hebrew patriarchs. There is as yet no clearly correct explanation of the basis upon which such figures rest. In certain cases they have become corrupt, owing to the peculiar notation of the Sumerian sexagesimal system, in which the values are dependent upon position precisely as in the decimal system. Thus Ilku is given a reign of , that is 75, years, but in the total

for the dynasty this king is accorded , that is 600+5×60, 900 years. Errors of this kind depend partly upon carelessness, partly also, no doubt, upon incorrect readings of the early numerical signs of the Pre-Sargonic period, which must have puzzled later scribes very considerably.

The only name in this list of the first Kish dynasty known from other sources is Etana,[3] concerning whom the Babylonians related an amusing fable, which must originally have included some account of the whole period assigned by the dynastic lists to the reigns of his predecessors. The great gods comprised under the names of Igigi and Anunnaki ruled the world themselves, by decreeing "destinies"; though they appointed religious festivals, they did not instal a king, and the ordinary symbols of sovereignty were not made on earth, their prototypes lay before the god Anu in heaven. During this time an eagle and a serpent quarrelled, owing to the voracity of the eagle; the bird devoured the young of the serpent despite the wise advice of the youngest of his own brood, who foresaw the wrath of the Sun-god. The serpent appealed to the Sun, and received instructions to go over the "mountain," creep into the belly of the corpse of a wild ox, wait there till the voracious eagle arrived, and then break the wings of the bird and leave it in a pit, that it might die. These orders were faithfully executed by the serpent, since the eagle once again disregarded the warning of the wise eaglet. Etana went to the Sun-god in search of the plant which gives women easy deliverance in childbirth, and was also directed to go over the "mountain." There the hero found the wounded bird and tended it apparently for seven months; in the eighth month he took it back to its ravine, and the eagle swore brotherhood with Etana, undertaking to do whatever he wished. Etana's search for the magic plant necessitated a flight skywards, which was accomplished by the hero clinging on to the bird, breast to breast. As they mounted, the eagle pointed out the changes in the view of the receding earth; but after passing through the gate of Anu, Enlil and Ea they had still to ascend to the throne

of Ishtar. The world had changed to a garden, the wide sea was a bucket. After six hours Etana called on the eagle to stop, and finally (the text is broken) the two fell crashing to the earth. The remainder of the story is lost; but Etana figures in the Gilgamesh Epic as a denizen of the nether regions.

Etana lived in an era of miracles, and it is possible that the names of the monarchs who are attributed to the same dynasty figured in similar stories, which may yet be found written in cuneiform. There are two ways of regarding such stories. According to one view, they are myths or fables, based on idle fancies called in current jargon "mythopoeic tendencies," or on religious superstitions of magical origin, while another view holds that these stories are history transformed by the use of symbols, and record tribal or national conflicts. It would be out of place here to discuss which of the two views is correct. It will be sufficient to state that the truth may possibly lie between the two, that the "mythopoeic tendency" which has been active in the twentieth century A.D. in the relation of historic facts, may have worked in the third millennium B.C., as in the modern world, on a small, almost unrecognisable, basis of truth. At present, the tradition of the first dynasty of Kish must be left on one side for historical purposes, to await further discoveries, save in one respect. Excavations have proved the existence of a very early civilisation there, which preceded that of the earliest remains at Ur; tradition asserts that a dynasty ruling Sumer and Akkad from Kish preceded that which first ruled from Ur. The coincidence is too striking to be neglected, and the historian must admit the fact that there were some early kings who ruled at Kish at the beginning of the third millennium, and that during their rule the hieroglyphic script from which linear writing developed was still in use.

The kingship passed, according to the lists, to E-anna, the temple precinct of Erech; but the city of Erech did not yet exist, for it was first built, the list says, by En-mer-kar, the second king. That there was a flourishing civilisation at Erech in the Early

a

b

PLATE VI

a, b. STONE VASE WITH FIGURES IN HIGH RELIEF AND IN THE ROUND. FROM WARKA. EARLY SUMERIAN PERIOD. B.M. No. 118,465. (After Hall, in *British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 5.) See p. 33.

Sumerian period is again attested by objects from there (Plate VI). The first king, Meskiaggasher (or Meskingasher), was a remarkable person, son of Shamash, the Sun-god, and a priest. "He entered the sea, ascended the mountain," the text states; the words may summarise a story of a journey through the cosmos or describe an historical exploit. Enmerkar, his son, is known from other texts,[4] in which he also is said to be the son of Shamash. Royalty in diverse countries amongst very different peoples at times separated by great intervals has been tersely expressed by the term "son of the Sun"; the expression need not therefore be considered unnatural when applied to these kings, yet they are the only kings so designated in Babylonia. But Enmerkar figures in the myth relating to the evil deeds and final destruction of Zu, the demoniac storm-bird who stole the tablet of destinies from Enlil (Plate VII, *d*). In the course of this myth, which is extant in the Sumerian language, but for the most part unintelligible, continual reference is made to the king of Erech and his people. The times were evil, and the city was oppressed by the Amorites; the goddess Inninni of Kullab and her son, the god Lugalbanda, were appealed to, and both were concerned in some way with the preservation of the city. Lugalbanda is in fact named as the successor of Enmerkar in the king list. Then comes the god Dumuzi once more, distinguished from the prediluvian monarch by the epithet of "fisherman." Tammuz occupies in Sumerian religion a position similar to that of Osiris, for example, in Egyptian religion; endless distinctions which became blurred in the course of time were known to his worshippers. The priests who studied the god-lists, faithfully copied from the early Sumerian period down to the last revival of Babylonian religion in the third century B.C., were acquainted with one Tammuz who was the son of Ea, the water-god, and another who was the son of Sin, the moon-god.[5] Whether the distinction between two gods born of different fathers accounts for the distinction between the professions of the two gods who appear in the dynastic lists, the one as "shepherd,"

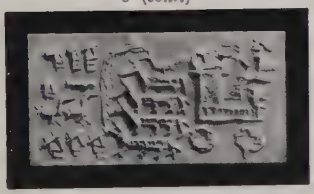
the pre-diluvian king, the other as "fisherman," a king of the first dynasty of Erech, it would be hazardous to assert. Yet it is tempting to connect the "fisherman" with the Dumuzi of the abyss of sweet waters who was the son of Ea. This god, who had succeeded a god, is followed in the list by one who was two-thirds god, one-third man, Gilgamesh, the hero of the most entertaining story in cuneiform literature yet known to us. The tyrant of a city, Gilgamesh became the friend of Enkidu, the type of savage nomads; himself a god, son of the goddess Nin-Sun, he embarked, with his friend, on an adventure in which they overcame the demon Ḫumbaba (Plate VII, *a*), and on their return insulted the licentious goddess Ishtar. One-third a man, Gilgamesh, on the death of his friend, sought the plant of eternal life, only to lose it, after infinite pains, through his too human pleasure in bathing, owing to the wisdom of a serpent; always a creature difficult to define, he interviewed the Shades below, and finally became one of the judges in the underworld. To the myth, the dynastic lists add yet one more detail. According to one text, "his father was *Lilu*," the god whose shade was rescued from the grave, only to wander in lonely places, an impotent but malevolent demon like his sister Lilith. But another list called the father Ā, a god mentioned elsewhere, the husband of the goddess called "the Lady of the street-edge," clearly a demon similar to Lilu. In both cases the father is described as the "priest of Kullab," so that Ā and Lilu may be different names of one and the same being.[6]

Round the figure of Gilgamesh the speculations of the ages have accumulated. The Babylonians had no doubt that he was an historical figure; a later king of Erech, Anam, describes his restoration of the city wall which Gilgamesh built.[7] But the evidence of Babylonian belief is hardly important; they were very determined euhemerists, and had no difficulty in conceiving the world peopled by gods. Aelian,[8] who tells an otherwise unknown story about Gilgamesh, had some doubts on the subject. Seuechoros, alarmed at a prophecy that his daughter's son would take away

a

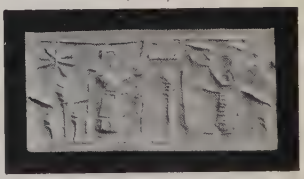
b

b (cont.)



c

c (cont.)



d

d (cont.)

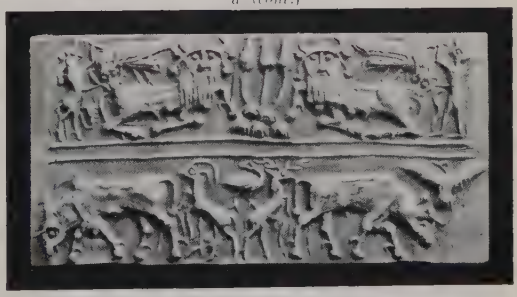


PLATE VII

a. The Face of Humbaba depicted by means of a single line, to resemble the entrails of sacrificed animals. A terra-cotta plaque. B.M. No. 116,624. (After *Liverpool Annals of Archæology and Anthropology*, Vol. XI Plate XIII, by kind permission of the editors and the Liverpool University Press.) See p. 34.

b. Cylinder seal and impression showing four-horsed chariot, men and birds; similar to an impression on a Cappadocian tablet. Approximate date 2100—1900 B.C. B.M. No. 89,654. See p. 214. Length 2.3 c.m.

c. Cylinder seal and impression showing a priest offering a libation, and a human figure with a fan. In the field, the eight-pointed star, and trunks of trees with branches. Approximate date, 1,000—800 B.C. B.M. No. 89,564. See p. 125. Length 2.2 cm.

d. Cylinder seal of lapis lazuli, and impression. Upper register, two human-headed bulls, couchant; left, the bird (Zu) attacking the bull is in turn attacked by a bull; right, a human figure (Lugalbanda) raises a dagger to attack the bird. Lower register, bulls, stags and birds. B.M. No. 22,962. See p. 33. Approximate date, 2600—2500 B.C. Length, 4 cm.

his kingdom, put the girl under guard; but she became a mother by a man of low degree, and the guards in terror threw the child from the acropolis, where the girl was imprisoned. Caught on an eagle's back and set by the bird in a garden, the child was found by the gardener and became King Gilgamesh. "If anybody thinks this is a fable, I admit that on testing it I thought lightly of its validity myself," the Latin writer remarks; indeed, the authority of his tale is very doubtful, for it may be a confusion of three distinct stories. On such sands modern scholarship has sought to raise an imposing structure. The Gilgamesh epic is said to be an astral myth, a symbolical account of the movements of the personified heavenly bodies, the source from which most Hebrew historical writing and much Greek fable was drawn.[9] Or alternatively, we are to believe that Gilgamesh was of Amorite origin, and engaged in actual war with Ḫumbaba, a king of the Amanus district.[9] On points of fact both theories are mythical beliefs similar in nature to the legend. Ḫumbaba was a demon, possibly typifying a volcano, whose habitat is not yet certain.[10] There is some ground for believing that he was connected with Elam. It is impossible at present to accept the view that the Gilgamesh epic is an historical source of the same kind as the Homeric poems. It is still more impossible to find in it the origin of Hebrew historical writing and of Greek myths.

The last seven kings of the first dynasty of Erech bear no resemblance to their forebears, in spite of their descent from Gilgamesh; and at this point a notable change takes place in the lists. To each of these kings is attributed a reign consonant with lives of the normal span, and from first to last they ruled for 140 years; their names do not occur in any mythical connection. The natural deduction is, that here for the first time in these dynastic lists historic facts are being recorded. The deduction is rendered certain by the fact that the next dynasty, the First Dynasty of Ur, is historical. The lists assign four kings to this dynasty, and state that its founder, Mesannipadda,

was succeeded by his son, Meskiag-Nanna(r). But certain texts from the city of Nippur relate the history of a sacred building called the Tummal,[11] which had a long history. Founded in the time of Gilgamesh, the walls were in ruins for the third time when Annani or Nanni repaired them; the work was completed by his son Meskiag-Nanna(r). From the excavations at Ur the full name of this king is known to be A-anni-padda; Annani and Nanni are abbreviations. Now A-anni-padda calls himself "King of Ur, son of Mesannipadda, king of Ur"; there can be no doubt that he was the second king of the dynasty, and that the lists have omitted his name through some error. One error leads to another, and it is possible to see this process in the rather long reign attributed to Mesannipadda; the eighty years assigned to him may well include the reign of his son. The lists, indeed, convict one another of inaccuracy, as is so frequently the case with regard to figures in cuneiform documents; Meskiag-Nanna(r) is said in the Larsa copy to have ruled thirty-six years, while the Nippur lists allow only thirty. While admitting these inaccuracies in the lists, their historical character in essential points is unexpectedly established by the evidence from Ur.

It is disappointing to find that the lists return to impossible figures for the dynasties which succeeded one another at Awan, Kish (2), Hamaṣi and Erech (2). Once again we are at a loss to know on what basis the figures are reckoned unless it be misreading of an ancient numeration no longer intelligible to the scribes. As before, the lists differ as to these numbers; and even on the matter of the number of kings there were discrepancies as to Erech (2). Scribal errors could even alter a king's name within a few lines. But that the names are historical there is little reason to doubt. The unfortunate circumstance that no monument inscribed with the name of one of these kings is extant, and no mention of them is made in any later document, can only be accidental. The argument from absence, always very weak, must never be opposed to positive statements. The dynasties that follow the Second Dynasty of Erech down to the Third Dynasty of Erech

do not in general share the peculiarity of impossible figures with the preceding four, and in certain cases (those of Lugal-anni-mundu of Adab, Ur-Ilbaba of Kish and Lugal-zaggisi of Erech) the name is known from another document. Lugal-anni-mundu, for example, is mentioned in connection with a transfer of land which took place in the time of Ammizaduga.[12] There are, however, two exceptional instances in which irrational figures are attributed to individuals. The one is Ku-Bau of Kish (3), said to have reigned one hundred years; the other is Ur-Ilbaba, credited with four hundred. But Ku-Bau is omitted altogether by one list; the lists that do include her name, from Nippur Kish and Larsa, remark that the lady was a wine seller, a profession as disreputable in Babylonia in ancient times as at the present day. But even when her name is included the scribes were not agreed as to her position. In the list found at Kish Ku-Bau is included in the same dynasty as her son Puzur-Sin; the Larsa list considers that she constituted a dynasty by herself, and puts the Akshak dynasty between her reign and that of her son. The conclusion appears to be that Ku-Bau was active during the rule of the Akshak dynasty, and that the figure attributed to her is an artificial one based partly on the length of the Akshak dynasty. In the case of Ur-Ilbaba there is reason to believe that the four hundred years is based on a scribal misunderstanding of the figures $6\frac{2}{3}$. This explanation is by no means certain, but is attractive, and may be accepted provisionally.

A curious and very difficult problem in connection with the dynastic lists is raised by the fact that we have a considerable amount of information from contemporary documents concerning rulers in various cities who called themselves kings. None of these names appear in the lists; and, as has been previously stated, the kings given in the dynastic lists are not for the most part mentioned in other documents. Not one of the "kings" of Lagash appears in these lists. Kings of Mari, Adab and Kish are not included amongst the names as we now have them. Obviously, therefore, the scribes who compiled the lists formed a canon,

from which they excluded many who bore that title. An explanation of this phenomenon might be sought in local patriotisms and antagonisms, were it not that such an explanation is rendered almost impossible by the general agreement of lists from Nippur, Larsa and Kish. Were these other kings excluded because the scribes did not know of their existence? That is unlikely, for the Lagash kings commonly dedicated objects in the temples at Nippur, and some of these are extant. Scribes who were aware of the historical First Dynasty of Ur are not likely to have been ignorant of the Lagash kings. Another feasible view would be that the kings who so styled themselves were not able to impose their rule beyond the immediate environs of their own city; but the Lagash kings claimed very extensive conquests, and in at least one instance their claim can be proved historically true. The oldest objects found at Ur subsequent to the period of the First Dynasty of Ur are a tablet which bears the name Enannatum I, and a statue of Entemena. The close relationship between the script of A-anni-padda's tablet and the writing of the kings of Lagash makes it possible that the First Dynasty of Ur was not far removed in time from Eannatum, who claims to have conquered the city. Possibly the kings whom he fought at Ur were the kings of the Second Dynasty of Ur in the lists. Eannatum's boasts are indeed not to be dismissed as unhistorical without more evidence than is yet available; if he indeed conquered Elam, Umma, Erech, Ur, Kish and Mari, his realms included nearly all Sumer and Akkad. It is therefore impossible to assume that he was excluded from the canon as being merely a rival to some other. There is no explanation that is completely satisfactory as to the principle on which the canon is based. Possibly the scribes, who were members of priestly schools, had in mind some esoteric doctrine about the kingship; a king, to figure in the canon, may have had to perform certain ritual acts at certain festivals. In later times, at Babylon, this was certainly the priestly theory. No one was rightfully king of Babylon for a year in which he did not

himself perform the ceremonies proper to a king at the New Year festival.

Though the contemporary inscriptions of the kings of Lagash and elsewhere are not easily assigned in the complete scheme given by the canon, they remain our principal source for the history of the time; there is little to be added to the account given in the first volume. Where, however, knowledge of sources outside the dynastic lists is available, a new element is introduced. Sargon of Agade is called by the dynastic list "cup-bearer of Ur-Ilbaba," and it is clear from a New Babylonian chronicle that this means that before his rebellion, famous in omen literature, Sargon was the vassal of the second king of the fourth dynasty of Kish. The last five kings of that dynasty were, then, contemporaries of Sargon. But Lugal-zaggisi, who was conquered by Sargon, is interposed in the lists between the fourth dynasty of Kish and the dynasty of Agade. He also, therefore, was a contemporary of Sargon and of the last five kings of the Kish dynasty. Were the reigns of these kings really consecutive, as is implied by the king list, then the period would have extended over 177 years; in the light of historical knowledge, it is reduced to the length of Sargon's reign, namely fifty-six years. Yet another valuable set of facts enables us to form some estimate of the chronology. Lugal-zaggisi of Erech brought ruin upon Lagash in the time of Urukagina, whose end therefore fell in the time of Sargon. Now Urukagina appears as an official in documents dated in the reign of Lugal-anda, the iššaku of Lagash who succeeded his father Enlitarzi in that office. Enlitarzi was the priest of Ningirsu at the end of the reign of Entemena, the great-grandson of Ur-Nina. The period between Ur-Nina and Sargon of Agade cannot therefore exceed the normal span of seven generations; two hundred years is a more than ample allowance for this period; one hundred and fifty years would be a more reasonable estimate. It has been seen that there is strong reason to believe that the patesis of Lagash did in fact conquer Ur; the only dynasties which they can have overthrown there were the First or Second Dynasty.[13]

Assuming that in fact it was the Second Dynasty, the period from Eannatum to Urukagina covers the same space of time in which the lists place the dynasties of Adab, Mari, Kish (3) and Akshak. The Third Dynasty of Kish is almost certainly contemporary with that of Akshak. The dynasties of Adab, Mari and Akshak must also have overlapped to a very considerable extent, otherwise the period becomes too long to agree with the very definite evidence from Lagash. The 319 years of the lists must be reduced by at least one-third of the total, more probably by one-half.

If the end of the Second Dynasty of Ur falls about 150 years before Sargon's time, it is clear that the beginning of the First Dynasty must fall at a point which may allow of an interval between the two dynasties. Now in the matter of the Ur dynasties the lists may be claimed to be approximately correct. To the Second Dynasty they assign four kings, and over 100 years, to the First four kings—there were actually five—and 177 years. Granted an interval, this period amounts to roughly 300 years. This may be an overestimate, but not of a kind seriously to impair the approximate nature of round figures. The total result is to place the reign of Mesannipadda some four to five hundred years before Sargon. The only serious objection to this is an argument based on epigraphy. The script of A-anni-padda closely resembles that of Entemena, and on epigraphical grounds alone, considered apart from other evidence, it would be preferable to suppose the interval between the two less. But the epigraphical argument by itself cannot be considered convincing. Cuneiform writing did not change speedily at any period, and there is sometimes far more difference to be noted between individual scripts of the same period than between inscriptions centuries apart. Epigraphical arguments should not, in matters of chronology, be pressed too far; to assume that A-anni-padda and Entemena are not separated by any considerable space of time would necessitate a complete disregard of the king lists. To disregard some of the figures assigned in those lists is reasonable; to jettison the names of the

kings is to neglect the full weight of the evidence. For the present, it is probable that the First Dynasty of Ur began to rule between 3000 and 2900 B.C.

Before the dynasty of Agade arose, the canon represented in the dynastic lists recognised eight cities as contending for the supremacy over Sumer and Akkad. Of these eight cities Erech, Ur and Adab lie in the land of Sumer, Kish and Akshak (Opis) in the land of Akkad. The location of Awan and Ḫamaṣi is doubtful; they certainly lay to the east of the country, perhaps beyond the Tigris. Mari was in the neighbourhood of the modern town of Hit, and probably lay on the western bank of the river; its name, generally written ideographically, means "Ship-city," and is a natural Sumerian name for a town located at the point where the Euphrates first becomes easily navigable for boats of any size. Lying on the extreme north-western border of Akkad, Mari was peculiarly subject to capture by invaders from the desert and from Syria; of all the cities, it should have been the first to fall under the domination of men of Semitic speech. The only name of a king of Mari preserved in the dynastic lists is of doubtful reading, but it can hardly be Semitic. An archaic statue [14] bearing the name of one who claimed to be king of Mari is, to judge by its style, about contemporary with the earliest rulers of Lagash; the inscription on the statue is in the Sumerian language. In the case of the two eastern cities, Awan and Ḫamaṣi, only one king's name is known, Ḫadanish of Ḫamaṣi. The ending of the name is somewhat similar to some names of the later dynasty of Gutium, and it may well be that these cities, though within the circle of the cities of the plain, had an element of the Gutian and other races of the Zagros hills in their population. Erech, Ur and Adab were of course ruled by men with Sumerian names, Gilgamesh possibly excepted. The names of the kings of Akshak and the Fourth Dynasty of Kish are more instructive. The first three kings of Akshak bear Sumerian names; the later kings of that dynasty and all the kings of the Fourth Dynasty of Kish have Semitic names. Men of Semitic speech had, it would seem, wrested authority to themselves

in one of the most important centres of the northern country; from the time of the Agade Dynasty the division became so pronounced that the north and the south were differentiated by the names of Akkad and Sumer.

Whence did these men of Semitic speech come? Certainly not from the east, where the languages were free from any kind of Semitic influence. From the south? An invasion from along the western shore of the Persian Gulf, or by the caravan route which leads from Mecca would first have made itself felt in the cities of Ur and Eridu; but these remained free from the use of Semitic speech for many centuries. The west is excluded, because there is no habitable country in that direction. There remain the north and the north-west; that is, men of Semitic speech may have intruded into the northern parts of the Sumerian lands either by following the valley of the Tigris or of the Euphrates. On this matter, Sumerian legends have a distinct bearing. The text which tells the story of Enmerkar and Lugalbanda in connection with the myth of the storm-bird Zu distinctly states that the land was suffering from the constant attacks of the people called Martu. This name of Martu was also borne by a god, the tribal god of the people, and a legend of a most unusual type in Sumerian records the institution of his worship in Ninab, a city of unknown location.[15] An attempt is actually made to be precise about the very early epoch at which this event took place. "Ninab existed, SID·TAB did not exist; the holy *men* headdress existed, the holy *agu* headdress did not exist; the holy aromatic plants existed, the holy palm-tree did not exist; holy salt existed, holy corn did not exist." The writer clearly intends to describe a period when man had not yet settled down to cultivate the land. The end of the poem consisted of a comparison of the wild life of mountain men with the blessings now possessed by the god Martu. Now the district Martu is generally described as "the mountain of Martu," and the mountaineers whose wild life is described are the people of that hill-country.[15] Throughout history Martu,

called in Semitic speech Amurru, was used by the inhabitants of the river valleys to designate the northern plateau of the Syrian desert. The country varied in extent; when it was a political entity, during the second millennium, its borders were sometimes confined to the hill country now known as the Jabal Druse, sometimes the term included lands from the Mediterranean to Hit. The Semitic speech that intruded into the north of Babylonia and finally overwhelmed the Sumerian tongue must, according to Sumerian legend, have been spoken by men who came from Amurru.

So many opinions on the question of the "Semites" and the "Sumerians" have been expressed that a consideration of them belongs, not to the history of Babylonia, but to the literature of historical romance. It need only be restated here that it is not probable that the "Sumerians" were a racial entity; and the term "Semites" has not a racial, but a linguistic significance. The view that the gods of the Sumerians were of "Semitic" origin is based on arguments that are not historically sound.[16] It may well be that from the very earliest period men of Semitic speech were present in Babylonia; and some very early stone documents are inscribed with texts concerning commercial dealings in the "Akkadian" language. But such men formed a small and subject minority of the population. The evidence of Sumerian legend, Sumerian historical tradition and Sumerian royal inscriptions is, that men of Semitic speech intruded themselves among a population of Sumerian speech, and became finally such an important element in the population that they wrested the hegemony in the northern part of the country from the native rulers; thenceforward the north was predominantly "Semitic" in character. The rise of the "Semites" took place during the dynasty of Akshak, Opis. That city stood on the west bank of the Tigris, approximately in the same position as Seleucia, in later times, at the point where the Euphrates and Tigris are only twenty miles apart. The first intruders into Babylonia proceeding down the Euphrates would naturally cross to the Tigris at this point and settle in that city. At Mari

too the Sumerian civilisation, attested for the period when the "dynasty of Mari" ruled there, was overwhelmed, and men of "Semitic" speech always thereafter controlled its destinies.

A view very different from that outlined above is held by some who would distinguish the district Martu continually mentioned from the early Sumerian period down to the time of the First Dynasty from the later land of Amurru in the west; Martu in the early documents, it is asserted, lay east of Tigris in the Zagros hills.[17] The theory suffers not only from the slight arguments advanced to support it, but from the impossible consequences that follow from it. Geographical terms are not to be thus lightly transferred from east to west at any period in history; when they are so transferred an explanation may always be found in historical incidents. It is incredible that the term Amurru, hitherto used of an eastern land, was suddenly transferred to the west somewhere between the eighteenth and fifteenth centuries; had it been, the western Amurru would have been qualified by some special epithet. But even apart from this consideration, there is an essential weakness in the theory because in no single instance are the early references to Amurru incompatible with a western location. Martu was called "a mountain," though it may seem strange to us; but there are many references to districts certainly in the Syrian desert which use the same terminology. The objects obtained from Martu might all be obtained from the western Amurru. The personal names actually favour a western location, for the verbal tense formations in them, which distinguish the language from Akkadian, are known to have been used in Syria and Palestine. There are many questions relating to the early period which may finally receive a hitherto unexpected solution; but it is improbable that the situation of Martu, Amurru, will prove to be elsewhere than the Amurru of later times.

CHAPTER V

SUMERIAN CIVILISATION

ABOUT the time of the First Dynasty of Ur the social and commercial life of the Sumerian city-state, known from the early documents commonly called "Pre-Sargonic," had already assumed the characteristics it retained until about 2000 B.C. The head of the city-state, the *iššakku*,[1] or "tenant-farmer," differed from his subjects in that his lease was held direct from the principal god of his city, and in full titulatories he is described as "the tenant-farmer of the god . . ." By virtue of his position he was a priest, and his tenure of the lease was in theory renewed yearly at the festival of the city-god, at which he was the principal celebrant. But priesthood did not entail a complete absorption in temple duties; throughout the ages in Babylonia, until the disappearance of the ancient faith, the priests were divided into classes which, in modern parlance, fall into the two divisions of civil and religious. The necessity for priests engaged entirely in civil duties arose from the function of the temple. This included different buildings, the "houses" of various gods; in each god's "house" might be included the "shrines" of different deities, each with his particular "chapel" and "seat." But the temple-complex was always presided over by the chief god of the city, who fixed the weights and measures in use; in the gates of his temple the elders sat, before whom all business agreements, to be legally binding, must be confirmed, and the oath taken before his emblem was the final test in many cases of truth and uprightness. To the legal and commercial duties which thus fell upon the priesthood, there was added the administration of the estates and

property which belonged to the temple, and the collection of regular and free-will offerings imposed by the ruler's will. The city governor therefore was the head of an organisation which controlled communal and individual life at every point, and united in his person the prestige attaching to "god's tenant" with an undivided power as supreme law-giver, judge, and commander.

The theocratic conception of rule in the city-state among the Sumerians must not be allowed to obscure the position of the *iššakku* as a civil official. The evidence afforded by the business documents amply proves that he was the active administrative head of the city temple, and so of all the commercial life of the city. Upon what grounds the individual came to be appointed *iššakku* it is difficult to say. The earliest documents from Lagash point to succession by seniority within a particular family; but the succession was often interrupted, doubtless by the appointment of individuals by a suzerain who dwelt in another city, and there may well have been some quite primitive method of selection by magical rites such as is presupposed by the belief in divine choice. Those magical rites may have been in form similar to the practices of later times, when the method adopted was that of augury by inspection of the liver.[2]

"Kingship," according to Sumerian belief, "descended from heaven." When, in point of historical fact, the title *lugal*, "great man," "possessor," "king," was first employed, and on what grounds, there is nothing to show. Many "kings" are so described on their monuments who were not recognised by the later canon, but in every case their rule seems to have extended beyond a single city. The ideal kingship consisted in rule over all the territory subsequently called Sumer and Akkad; and it is permissible to suppose that in the cases where the use of the title was not justified, it arose from a premature boast. But even in the canon contemporary "kings" are admitted, and there is nothing to show the grounds on which the tradition rested. In any case the king was but city governor writ large; a ruler by divine

choice in theory, by supreme power in fact. But his position was necessarily unstable; the natural unit, the city-state, was not easily reduced to continuous and complete submission to central rule, and it is not until the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur that there is satisfactory evidence of a unified and co-ordinated administration over a large area. In early Sumerian times the view of kingship always subsequently held, the view to which the language used in Western Asia in later centuries reverts, had already gained acceptance, and was not the least important of the civilising ideas which may be traced to that epoch.

Sumerian religion at this time also had developed most, but not all, of its characteristic features. In all the cities a fairly well-defined pantheon was recognised; the same god might be known under a different name in different places, but in myth and ritual his nature and office closely corresponded. While the male divinities retained their primitive character until the final decay of paganism, the female deities of the Sumerians have been confused and identified by subsequent tradition, owing possibly to their common nature as goddesses of fertility. The confused speculations of modern scholarship have not tended to illumine the growth and development of religious ideas, but it is possible to affirm with confidence that the religion is of the kind typical amongst peoples engaged in agrarian occupations. It is distinguished by the use of symbols which connect certain gods with the stars. This astrological element in the early Sumerian period is proved by the designs on seals which can with certainty be ascribed to the period. These seals take many forms: stamp seals of the most various shapes were probably used at an earlier date than, and were afterwards as common as, cylinder seals, which finally became the only type of seal in general use. On the stamp seals more especially there may be found star-symbols, the most common being the scorpion; and this fact, when considered in conjunction with the worship of the Sun and the Moon, shows the existence at this early date of a tendency which finally became predominant in Babylonian

religion. But essentially Sumerian religious practice was magic of an elementary kind, intended to procure good crops and to secure immunity from ill hap for large urban populations engaged in industry.

The predominant feature of the social organisation has already been indicated. From the earliest times onwards the Sumerians dwelt in large communities, inhabiting walled cities, and no gradual development of a site from village to town and then to city can be proved by archaeological investigation. According to Sumerian tradition many of these cities existed before the Flood; in other words, even the memory of their origin had vanished. It is important to note this fact, because an analogy from European development might predispose the historian to assume that such a gradual growth took place in Sumerian times. Such an assumption is not necessarily correct. In Pre-dynastic Egypt the same phenomenon of large civic communities with a well-developed political system is to be observed, and it is probable that both in the Nile and in the Euphrates valleys the people of the early copper age had long left the stage of the village settlement behind them. Throughout the subsequent periods of history in Babylonia there is a marked antithesis between the great cities and the tribal villages; the institutions of the city remained civic, the tribal villages were no more than larger or smaller aggregations of tribesmen. The essential difference between the city and the village seems to have been in the earliest times, as it is to-day, the existence in the former of a large class engaged in industrial pursuits, dependent upon the markets for which cities alone provide room, and above all security.

The industrial population in the early Sumerian cities, engaged in the manufacture of various kinds of cloth stuffs, in the working of stone and of metal, were for the most part dependent for their livelihood upon imported goods. They were not altogether without native products. The date-palm and some other trees which must have been introduced into Babylonia before this time, can serve for rough purposes. Porous limestone of an inferior sort is not far

distant from some of the great cities. Shell, the use of which for ornament is very typical of the early period, may be obtained in abundance from the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf. Bitumen and gypsum, both useful for the most diverse purposes, form an important element of the natural resources of Babylonia. But cedar-wood, invariably used in the larger buildings, came from the Amanus, copper from Magan (which must lie some considerable distance to the south-west) and probably from Cilicia, and various kinds of stone from the Zagros hills, the Diarbakr district, and perhaps from parts of the Arabian peninsula. Ivory and other animal products employed may have been obtained from Syria and still more distant parts. These materials might be obtained either by force or by trade; such a ruler as Sargon of Agade later proved himself to be would adopt the former, a Gudea the latter method. In either case, the industrial population was dependent upon the city governor for the raw material of trade, and, in consonance with the nature of the city-state, industry centred about the temple.

The extent of trade relations at the end of the fourth millennium must not be under-estimated. There is but little evidence on the subject, yet in certain cases that evidence is indisputable. Excavations in India, at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa, two sites in the Indus valley, have revealed a civilisation which, to judge from the material objects found, had much in common with the Early Sumerian period in Babylonia.[3] A close trade connection is proved by the fact that seals of exactly the same type as those found in India have also been found in Babylonia (Figs. 2 and 3). Now there is to be found upon one of these seals found at Ur, linear characters of the kind in use about 3000–2600 B.C. amongst the Sumerians; on the seals from India there is a different writing, but the language itself is not Sumerian, and is at present not deciphered. The evidence therefore does not demand more than the assumption that there was a close trade connection between the Tigris and the North-Western Provinces of India. It has, indeed, been

thought, on other grounds, that a racial connection may exist between the Sumerians and certain early stocks in India, and there is no occasion to deny the possibility of this; but such connection belongs to a period outside the range of history. The trade connection after 3000 B.C. is established as an historic fact. It should not, indeed, be considered as surprising. The great movements of peoples which, as is generally agreed, took place in the neolithic and early metal ages, cannot have been speedily forgotten. For many centuries the routes which had first been

FIG. 2.

Seal Impression from Mohenjo Daro, in the Indus valley. (By kind permission of Sir John Marsball, Director-General of Archæology, India.) See p. 49.

FIG. 3.

Impression of stamp seal from Ur. The cuneiform characters read KA (or SAK), KU and SHI (LIM) or PI. (By kind permission of C. L. Woolley, Esq.) See p. 49.

used for folk migrations must have been used to obtain the products of the old home in the new settlement. The isolation of communities, the restriction of trade intercourse, and the gradual development of peculiar characteristics within a geographically defined unit is not the mark of recent wanderings, but of many centuries of settlement. It has not, perhaps, been sufficiently remembered that, since man came into the alluvial plain from elsewhere, the Sumerians of the earliest period must have had more extensive connections than their later descendants, surrounded and

perpetually driven within a lesser area by subsequent wanderers, could possibly know.

The fact that there existed a trade connection between the Indus valley and Babylonia at this early period (about 2900–2700 B.C.) raises a very interesting question. What was the route by which objects typical of the settlements at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa came to Babylonia ? The first of these places is not far removed from the point where the Indus at that period must have reached the sea, and it is not unnatural to suppose that even at this early date a certain amount of traffic was sea-borne, as some five hundred years later there is proof in the inscriptions of commercial activity of an international character in the Persian Gulf. The boats which rounded the Arabian peninsula to the Red Sea may equally have coasted eastwards to the mouth of the Indus. If the people at Mohenjo Daro obtained the bitumen which in one building is used, in the Mesopotamian manner, as a damp-proof course, from Babylonia, then the traffic must have been by sea: but the inference is not certain, for bitumen is obtainable in India. The other alternative, a land route, has at present some slight, though by no means conclusive, evidence in its favour. The natural road for caravans to take when making for the Tigris valley from Afghanistan is determined by geographical conditions, and has remained about the same throughout the ages, though changes have been caused by the destruction of old, and the foundation of new, cities. Now this road, as it passes from Bukhārā westward through Ḫurāsān and Qūmis to Hamadan and the Tigris valley, passes through territory of which very little has been examined by archaeologists ; but in the case of two districts, one lying rather to the south, the other to the north of the road, there is a presumption that they were in the earliest Sumerian times connected with the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates. In Sistan some hand-made painted pottery has been discovered that may well be connected with the Mesopotamian pottery of that type ; if there were connections of this kind in the prehistoric period, clearly commercial contact may have continued in the

early Sumerian period. At Astarabad, on the other hand, were found some objects which bear a general resemblance to Early Sumerian work, and it is not impossible to see in them products which were exported from Babylonia, but, instead of following the great main route to the east, branched off to the north along the road which led to the Caspian Sea.

The probabilities and possibilities which have to be considered with regard to the connection with India repeat themselves, in an even more confusing manner, when the relation to Egypt is considered.[4] The danger of basing theories as to racial origins and historical reconstructions upon material remains has been very amply illustrated in the discussion of the now not inconsiderable number of objects which prove some kind of connection between Babylonia and Egypt at the end of the fourth and beginning of the third millennium. It has been the amusement of the modern scholar to assert, or, alternatively, to deny, deductions drawn from the available evidence. Some would hold that the Egyptian, the "Semite," and the Sumerian come from the same racial stock, and that Egypt was the common origin of the similar factors in the different civilisations; others would look to Elam as the first home of common elements; while yet others assert the presence of Sumerians in Egypt. For the early Sumerian period the evidence mentioned consists of material remains found in Egypt. Of these the most striking are the vases of the late pre-dynastic period on which is represented a type of boat distinct from the vessels used in the Mediterranean and on the Nile, but similar to those often depicted in Babylonia, presumably a shape typical of the Persian Gulf. Again, the kind of cylinder seals used in Egypt during the First Dynasty to seal clay caps on jars present striking features undeniably similar to early Sumerian seals. Further, there are objects like the knife blade found at Jabal al 'Arak which are carved with themes peculiar to Babylonian art, or in a manner distinctive of Early Sumerian handicraft. Other, more doubtful, points have been urged. The mace heads employed in both countries, whether for use or for ceremonial

purposes, are similar; but the similarity may arise from the nature and use of the object. In both countries builders adopted the plan of recessing brick walls, a style which was used throughout the historical period in Babylonia, but which is confined in Egypt to the early dynasties; some hold that this type of building should not be used to prove contact, for the Egyptians did not make their bricks in the Babylonian fashion, and the similarity in style arose from the common need to relieve the appearance of brick walls, yet the similarity is too striking in detail to be so easily dismissed. Some writers would find a Sumerian element in certain early pot-marks, and would compare the method of dating on the Palermo Stone to the Sumerian date-formulae; such analogies are in some cases unconvincing, in other cases not sufficiently close to reinforce the conclusion to be drawn from the evidence already cited. There must have been a trade connection between the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea in the early Sumerian period; owing to that trade certain artists in Egypt in the late pre-dynastic and early dynastic period fell under influences which are recognisably Babylonian. There is no sufficient ground for deducing more than this. It is not impossible that both civilisations borrowed from a third, yet unknown.

To these two channels of extended commercial traffic, the one to the east, perhaps by land and sea, the second by sea, to Egypt, there should perhaps be added a third, which led from Asia Minor through Cilicia and northern Syria along the Euphrates valley to the southern alluvium. Yet it is at present impossible to adduce satisfactory evidence that should conclusively prove the existence of commercial connections at the end of the fourth millennium. During the prehistoric period a common civilisation seems to have spread over central Asia Minor, Syria, and the river valleys. Similarly in the early Sumerian period there were common elements, but it is almost impossible to decide how far these elements were due to a natural development along similar lines, or political supremacy or trade intercourse. The question is the more

complicated because there is at present no certainty as to the precise nature of the changes in Babylonia which occurred in the period immediately following the close of the early Sumerian epoch as here defined; that is to say, in certain important questions which concern peculiar religious beliefs and the worship of gods of the same character and the same name, there is no decisive proof of the exact point of origin. The extravagant assumption that everything that is found in Babylonia is typically Babylonian, that similar objects, beliefs and cults found elsewhere must necessarily have originated in Babylonia, should find no place in sober history, which has first to appraise more elementary questions. Some aspects of this question will be considered later. For the present, one specific difficulty may be stated since it is typical of many others, and once again the danger of a certain type of argument based on archaeological grounds is illustrated. The earliest stamp seals which have yet been found in a scientific excavation come from the lowest strata at Susa, and some must unquestionably belong to the civilisation known in scientific jargon as "Susa I," which must be dated at least to the middle of the fourth millennium. The second civilisation at Susa ("Susa II") is marked by the appearance of the cylinder seal, which is rolled across clay, not simply stamped upon it. In the early Sumerian period both kinds of seal, the stamp and the cylinder, were in use, the former taking many different shapes. In Syria early stamp seals are also found, and this type remained in general use throughout the second millennium, the variety of shapes being almost infinite. The ingenuity and imagination of an archaeologist have found in these seals a decidedly Anatolian and North Syrian characteristic, and would argue from their occurrence at the end of "Susa I" that a "Northern" element is to be traced at Susa.[5] It is far more probable that the use of the stamp seal was prevalent all over these countries at the beginning of the fourth millennium, and that its continued use in Syria long after it had fallen out of fashion in Elam and Babylonia arose from some particular purpose which we can no longer determine.

But it must not be forgotten that the cylinder seal in Syria in its earliest examples shows designs markedly Sumerian in origin, which subsequently tend to disappear. There is some reason for claiming therefore that Syria and Asia Minor borrowed from Babylonia rather than that the origin of any general type of seal is to be found there. This kind of confusion renders it impossible to place any confidence in the evidence. There only remains the probability that the road from Asia Minor through Syria was used, because it is known to have been used in the age immediately succeeding the early Sumerian period.

The existence of these trade routes must have had a greater effect on Babylonia than can be discerned from the scanty remains. Such a brilliant period of material prosperity as is testified to by the excavations at Kish, Ur, and Lagash commonly results from a political supremacy which secures the concentration of trade routes within a confined area; in the history of the East such a concentration has always been attended by an influx of craftsmen, of various nationalities, bringing with them products and inventions which henceforward characterise the civilisation. In this manner it may be that the potter's wheel was first introduced into Babylonia, possibly from Elam; and stone workers who had learnt the art of making alabaster and aragonite pots in Egypt seem to have brought their knowledge with them to Ur and Eridu.[6] It cannot be too clearly stated that in the ancient East influence in points of material culture more frequently results from a king's policy than from the people's disposition. It is, for instance, far more likely that the king who had the copper statues and reliefs made at Ur deliberately imported copper-workers from a district where the technique was indigenous, than that natives of the Euphrates valley acquired the consummate skill necessary. Modern parallels could be cited without number; it will suffice to state that the only men in modern Baghdad capable of making glazed tiles are Persians. But henceforth those copper-workers, settled at Ur, became an accepted and acceptable unit in the state.

"Trade" implies indeed in the East an interchange of population on a very minor scale, as well as an interchange of goods. This fact has, throughout history, led to a greater homogeneity of civilisation throughout Syria, Mesopotamia, and the river valleys on the one hand, and Syria and Egypt on the other, than the basic differences of the main stocks in those lands would lead the historian to expect.

An interesting proof of this may be found in the copper implements and weapons in use in Babylonia throughout the third millennium. Here is an industry requiring a special kind of knowledge, and always in the hands, in the East, of a select type of craftsmen. Now nearly all the common types of axes, chisels, hoes, adzes, lance-heads, daggers, arrows in Egypt can be paralleled from Babylonia, those from Babylonia can always be paralleled by examples from Syria.[7] The rare cases which might seem exceptions are really odd examples of objects made for special, often unknown, purposes. It is inconceivable that this feature of the early copper age in Babylonia, Syria, and Egypt should be accidental. Authorities capable of dealing with the subject have always been unanimous therefore that some common point of origin must be found, from which copper working spread.[8] The problem of finding that common point has for them been conditioned only by the necessity that it should be a district where copper can be quarried, in fairly close proximity to the area under consideration. They have therefore sought arguments not strictly relevant to the question of the copper implements in seeking to determine this common centre, with the result that one, using a theory of the origin of civilisation, has named Egypt, another, from reasoning based on flint forms, prefers Elam, while yet a third, alleging that the men who brought copper weapons were invaders in Egypt, selects Syria. But the consideration of the evidence supplied by the early Sumerian period in Babylonia should limit the possibilities of conjecture more than has yet been realised. It has already been stated that the weapons and implements in common use in that country include

all the types known from Egyptian and Syrian examples; but certain typically Sumerian shapes never occur in Egypt. That peculiarity should warn us that the craft of copper working was subject to peculiarities. Had Sumerians and Egyptians borrowed from one another, or from a common source, the craft of copper working, and practised it themselves, they must have slightly modified the tools in such a way that characteristic differences could be noted. For the copper workers in Babylonia could produce peculiar and characteristic objects for special purposes. The best example is the Sumerian battle axe with a socket for hafting, never used in Egypt in the early period. Whence came this standardisation of these articles? That standardisation depended on the craftsmen themselves; they must have been trained in a common school, inspired by a common tradition. The copper-worker in Babylonia and the copper-worker in Egypt shared a common knowledge, and the one could have earned his living by doing the other's work; but of the potter this could not be said. This phenomenon is by no means peculiar to the ancient East. Throughout history metal-workers have retained a very privileged position, and at all times, in every country, they have retained a freedom of movement not always granted to other trades. Perhaps the most interesting example is the position of the Ṣulubā in modern Arabia. This consideration affects the solution of the problem as to the origin of copper working in an important manner; a district must be found whence not only the knowledge and practice of copper working spread, but whence came itinerant craftsmen, who founded in widely separated lands conservative guilds which practised a common art, yet produced certain distinctive types of weapon for the different methods of fighting in Babylonia. To suggest any solution of this question as certain is not within the province of history; evidence is lacking. But at the end of the third millennium we do know of such a centre, as will subsequently appear, in Cappadocia, and this seems the only available evidence strictly relevant to the question of the origin of copper

working in the ancient East. It is not in itself conclusive, and in this, as in so many other matters, complete agnosticism is the wisest attitude. In any case, the craftsmen in Babylonia made independent discoveries, and were more advanced than their fellows in Egypt.

The organisation of city-states in any land promotes conditions which end in frequent wars. Not much is told in the extant early inscriptions of the constant struggles among the early Sumerian cities for independence or domination, but the dynastic lists regularly note that kingship passed from one city to another only after armed contest. Long use and training is implied by the surprisingly advanced practice of arms amongst the Sumerians in the earliest times. The phalanx, introduced as a tactical unit into Greece late in the fourth century B.C., was used as an infantry organisation somewhere about 2800 B.C.; the chariot (Plate V), which was unknown in Egypt until the Hyksos invasion, was already used in warfare in southern Babylonia at the time of the First Dynasty of Ur.[9] The weapons employed still included certain primitive types, especially the mace and the throw-stick; but the lance, the dagger, the arrow[10] were already used. Armour probably of skin, fitted for shock tactics, was worn, and large wicker shields, interlocked, formed an important element in the tactical use of the phalanx. The leaders in warfare were probably civil officials, ordinarily engaged in policing and other disciplinary duties in the city-state. The importance of this military proficiency for the understanding of Babylonian history can scarcely be over-estimated. While the Sumerians remained vigorous and numerous, Babylonian armies were in general superior to all opponents; their final victors were settlers in the country, taught the art of war by the Sumerians. While the tradition of Sumerian organisation remained, throughout the second millennium, Babylonian armies had still to be reckoned with, though they became increasingly inefficient. When at last the city-state organisation decayed and almost disappeared, to be replaced by the loose tribal organisation of the Ara-

maeans, Babylonia ceased to be able to defend itself, and became alternately dependent on the help, or subject to the rule, of others. Wherever early Sumerian kings ruled, a high standard of military proficiency is to be expected.)

CHAPTER VI

THE SUMERIANS IN ASSYRIA AND THE SUBARAEANS

THROUGHOUT the period of early Sumerian civilisation no mention is made in inscriptions of any place on the Tigris north of Akshak. No myths yet known refer to the land of Assyria. The inhabitants of the plain of Arbela must still be counted among the "peoples who have no history." The spade has revealed at the city of Ashur buildings and objects which can be certainly dated to the latter part of the early Sumerian period; these remains can only belong to the last century before Sargon's time, and may be in part contemporary with the dynasty of Agade. Curiously enough, no inscription has rewarded the excavator's zeal. The fact is regrettable, hardly important. It is impossible to think that the circumstance is other than accidental.

In the absence of the precise information afforded by the written word, the very general conclusions which may be drawn from the archaeological material attain an importance not otherwise attached to them. From such evidence it is the delight of the learned to read the history of races; from the affinities of a few potsherds the story of an invasion is deduced; on the peculiarities of a clay model is based an account of artistic development. The tonsorial fashions of different decades become criteria of nationality; the accident of a builder's whim in using stone or mud brick as a foundation serves to distinguish a northern and a southern civilisation. An easy scepticism may, on the other hand, neglect material of historical value; in the history of mankind material culture is a determining factor, and from the objects found in ruins, daily life can to some extent be imagined.

a

b

PLATE VIII

a. STONE FIGURE OF A MAN, OF EARLY DATE. FROM ISTABULAT. In the Ashmolean Museum. (By kind permission of Dr. Hogarth.) See p. 63.
b. TERRA-COTTA BOX, WITHOUT LID, IN EARLY ASSYRIAN STYLE. The doves in the panels are in high relief. Provenance unknown. B.M. No. 92,989.

The earliest building[1] yet found in Assyria lies within the city walls of Ashur, buried beneath a temple devoted from the end of the third millennium to the worship of a goddess, known by many names, but always a form of Ishtar, whether the epithet applied be "the Assyrian" (that is, the goddess of the city of Ashur), "the Ninevite," "queen of the dawn (lit. the lighting up)" or "*Dinitu*." That the site was from the first dedicated to her is clear from the votive offerings of terracotta figurines, though the confirmation of an inscription is lacking. The foundations of the building alone remain, standing immediately on the natural rock, so that the stone foundations used at Tall al 'Ubaid were not necessary for this first building; it would appear that repairs and alterations were undertaken on this original building, so that it stood for a considerable period. At last there was a complete rebuilding, exactly on the lines of the old building. This rebuilt temple must have been sacked and then burnt down by the hand of an enemy, for the ruins betray everywhere the effect of fire. Two gateways led into the temple building, one from the north-east, one from the north-west, the latter being the principal entrance. In the rooms of the gateway the extant remains of stone statuettes may once have stood on brick ledges which projected from the walls. The remains of the great court are insufficient to allow of certainty as to its plan. From the court a stepped doorway led on its western side to the room which seems to have been devoted to ritual practices. Again a ledge projected from the wall, presumably for the numerous stone statues, which were found by the excavators. The remains of a large water-pot, with a smaller pot sunk in the floor, protected by stone, is an interesting proof that the modern pots still used in Iraq for cooling and cleaning water were known at this early date. Towards one of the narrow walls of this rectangular room were found some curious terracotta models of houses: from their position it would seem that they were placed in a row or rows before the figure of the goddess. The divine statue stood on a raised platform in the

recessed wall; access to the platform seems to have been provided by steps. Various pots suitable for burning incense, pouring libations over flowers and so forth, were found by the wall. On the platform, two broken mirrors, one of copper, one of silver, may have been part of the goddess's furniture. Many beads were found; possibly they were once necklaces which adorned the statuettes. Very few of these beads were made of stone; they were for the most part frit, dipped into a glass mixture, and constitute by no means the least important discovery on this site. They are the first authentic instances of glazing, a process which introduced the important glass industry into Assyria. Metal work of the same period is illustrated by a copper sickle, and by some stone moulds for making metal ornaments in the shape of animals and rosettes. Small female figures in gypsum and ivory, and gypsum plaques, sometimes painted, are also attributed to this period.

The statuettes of gypsum found in the shrine of Ishtar and elsewhere seem to have been dedicated in the temple as representing certain important persons in the city. The dress they wear presents certain peculiarities which leave no doubt that they belong to about the same period as Entemena of Lagash. The peculiarity of the dress,[2] its flounced appearance, has been thought by some to be due to the fact that it was made from a fleece, and some support for this can be found in the fact that men have an appendage at the back, apparently used as a receptacle or a sheath for a dagger, which resembles a tail. Others believe that the appearance is due to the sewing of leaves upon cloth, or consider that the garment was a rectangular piece of stuff worn in a similar fashion to the later linen garment, in nature the same as the Roman toga. This latter supposition is almost incredible. The lines in which a rectangular garment fall are so well marked that no ancient sculpture is likely to have failed in representing them. On the other hand, there are certain difficulties in accepting the explanation that it is a skin. There is an interesting differentiation between male and female.

The male wears only a skirt; the body above the hips is left naked. The women leave only the right shoulder bare, the left arm being so covered by the dress that it is not distinguishable. In one case the woman is fully cloaked, and apparently wears a kerchief twisted over the head to cover the hair. No attempt is made to distinguish between the male and female busts.

The approximate period of these statues, as has been said, is certain. And the appearance of this type of work in the northern Tigris valley is not quite isolated. A small and very early figure of stone (Plate VIII, *a*), dressed in the same kind of garment, dedicated to the Sun-god, has been found at Istabulat, eight miles from Samarra. In style this statue must precede the statues of the Entemena period; it is clearly much later than the naked squatting figure found at Tall al 'Ubaid. There is also another figure (Plate I), more closely related to the Ashur statuettes but rather more sophisticated and perhaps of slightly later date; its provenance is not certainly known, but it must have been found at some point near the present Persian frontier, perhaps in the neighbourhood of Kirkūk.[3] Considered together, these figures are proof of a considerable northern extension of early Sumerian civilisation.

That these statuettes represent human, not divine, creatures is generally agreed; the purpose of their dedication is not in serious doubt. Rulers and important officials were in the habit of placing figures representing themselves in temple shrines during their lifetime that thereby they might express their complete devotion to the deity, and perhaps gain some added years to their life. Whether deductions are justified about the mode of appearing before the god so far as dress and attitude is concerned is doubtful. In at least one case the figure appears to have been presenting some object to the deity; in other cases the folded hands merely represent the general Oriental fashion of showing submission to the will of others. Such figures might indeed show an armed man; for it is probable that the figure from Istabulat bore the curved, sickle-shaped weapon that has sometimes been called a boomerang, though it may possibly have

been made of metal.[4] To draw any conclusions as to racial character of various types from the individual peculiarities of particular statuettes is even more illogical. Some shaved the head, some wore long hair, some bound the hair in a kind of pig-tail at the back. Fashions of this kind in the East have usually been associated with religious observances. If any instances are due to national rather than temporary fashion, it may possibly be correct to connect the pig-tail with men from the Zagros hills; the stele and the rock sculpture of Naram-Sin[5] which depict that king's triumph over men in the region of the Darband-i-

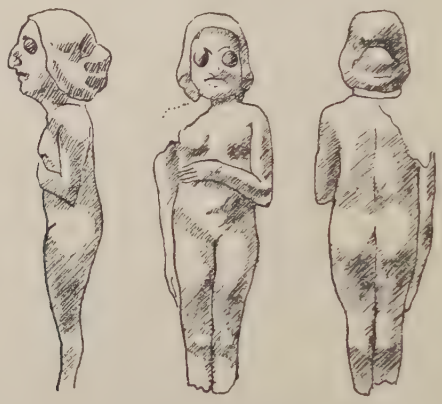


Fig. 4.

Ivory figure of woman. From Ashur. (After drawing by Andrae, *Die archäischen Ischtar-Tempel in Assur*, p. 56, Abb. 43). See pp. 64–5.

Gawr pass show that the hair was so worn in that district in this early period.

The best carving of the period is to be found in the small ivory figures of women. The exact nature of these figures is not known. An ivory pin found with them was once adorned by such a figure, and it is possible that the other figures also were originally parts of similar objects. The figures are represented naked; the arms are folded below the breast or hang down the side. The heads are disproportionately large and the styles of hair-dressing vary considerably. With all the technical faults which may be ascribed to

them, these figures had a certain grace, a delicacy in the representation of the human form which is rare in Assyria or Babylonia. Yet they are probably of local workmanship. The elephant roamed the steppe which extends from the Tigris to the Ḫabur in ancient times; Thothmes III. early in the fifteenth century engaged in an elephant hunt in the plains west of Aleppo, but by the end of the ninth century it seems to have been extinct, for in Shalmaneser III's reign elephants are depicted amongst the rare animals he received as tribute, though his father Ashurna-ṣirpal II boasts of slaying thirty of these animals. The ivory of which these little figures were made was therefore easily obtainable in Assyria, and there is no need to assume that they are imported products.

A very different art, that of painting a figure modelled in relief on a gypsum plaque, is represented by two fragments which are in many respects unique. The figure is female, wearing an ornamental collarette and some kind of loin-cloth; the dressing of the hair is quite peculiar, and the eyes, of disproportionate size, are set diagonally in an unusual manner. The decoration of the figure was picked out in black on the white gypsum, the whole background was painted black, while a border decoration which serves as a kind of frame is a geometrical pattern in black, white and red. The figure represents, it has been suggested, the goddess herself, or rather her statue as seen by the early painter. However that may be, the plaque is most instructive because it is impossible to believe that the man who made and painted it was at all under the influence of the Sumerian art of the time. It is, of course, necessary to discount the bizarre effect given by the crude opposition of black and white, since no example of the use of colour in early Sumerian work has been preserved. But apart from the colour, there are features which distinguish this plaque; the extreme slimness of the figure, the modelling of the breasts, the convention for representing hair cannot be compared to Babylonian work of the same period. This plaque is either an isolated specimen of an art otherwise unrepresented, or the freakish production

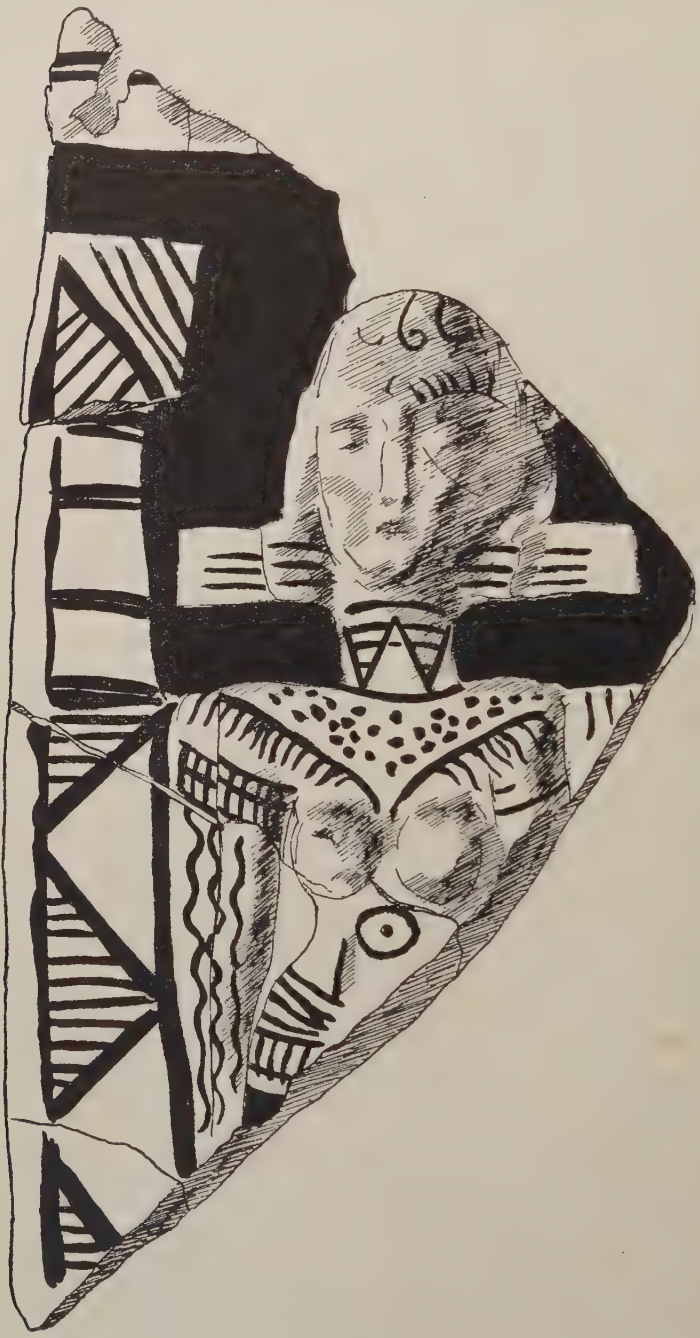


FIG. 5.

Gypsum plaque with painted bas-relief representing the goddess Ishtar. B.M. No. 118996. (Drawn from the original.) See p. 65.

of a man experimenting in a new medium with new methods.

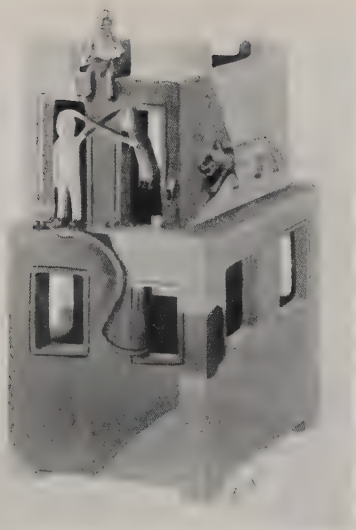
The terracotta and gypsum figurines are of a very coarse type, and for the most part represent the naked goddess in various postures. Asia Minor, Syria, the Ḫabur valley, Assyria, Babylonia, Elam, and Anau are equally prolific in these figurines, and it is at present impossible to be certain whether one site can ever be distinguished from another, one age from the next, in regard to them. They were dedicated in temples from the earliest times down to the Parthian era, but their exact nature and meaning remain obscure. It has been suggested that they were sold to visitors to the temple by temple servitors, and that they were left in the temple precincts with much the same hopes for life and offspring as induced kings and officials to place stone statuettes there.

The terracotta models of houses (Plate IX, *b*, *c*) present a peculiar series of problems. The models always represent two-storey buildings, the bottom storey projecting about half the whole depth. In each floor of the building one or two rows of rectangular windows are surmounted by smaller, triangular or arched, apertures, the whole being framed in by projections cut out in relief, apparently to represent wood-work standing out from brick or stone. Different animals are associated with different models. On the top of the second storey, in one case, there are two animals resting, in the round; in another case, serpents climb the house-walls, cut in relief, while in yet a third the decoration consists of little doves, roughly modelled and stuck on to the wall. These animals were all sacred to the goddess, and they were doubtless only depicted on these models to mark the nature of these little houses as cult objects in the worship of Ishtar. The buildings depicted seem to have consisted of a surface relieved by wood-work, or of wood-work alone. The only certain example of buildings of this nature seems to have been found at Boghaz Keui, and it seems highly improbable that such a type of building should ever have been practised to any considerable extent

in Assyria, where wood was scarce and valuable, or in the land of Sumer. The use of these model houses in the cult seems to have been simply as stands on which offerings to the deity were placed. There are representations of stands for offerings somewhat similar to these on seals and reliefs from Babylonia, but it is noticeable that no object precisely similar has been found in any excavation of a Sumerian site. But such objects have been found at Baisān,[6] the Biblical Beth-Shan, in the valley of Jezreel in Palestine. These are terracotta models of two-storied buildings, the upper storey not being set so far back as in the Ashur examples, and being of a smaller and simpler type. In front of this upper storey there is in one case a roughly shaped human figure, which is probably intended to represent some form of Ishtar, since the temple was dedicated to a goddess called, in the Egyptian inscriptions found there, Antit (Plate IX, *a*). These objects from Baisān are roughly 1500 years later than the Early Sumerian period; and the positions in which the model houses were found at Ashur indicate that many of them may really have been made at very much later periods, though the excavator has attributed them all to the earliest stratum. These objects, then, seem to have been specially suitable to the cult of the goddess, and to have been used during many centuries; the use of this type of object must have been borrowed at Ashur from Syria, for the reverse process is rendered improbable, as has been seen, from the type of building represented.

The pottery for the most part consisted of vessels used in ritual practices, such as those for pouring libations, those into which libations were poured, or those used for burning incense. The shapes in which these vessels were made are typical of their use, not of any special period. Vessels of a domestic type also show little that is characteristic of any one period in their shape, but the incised patterns or rope-like bands laid upon them have been found on vessels of the early Sumerian period on Babylonian sites. A curious feature of some of the pots from Ashur may be found in the painted marks which appear on some of

a



b

c

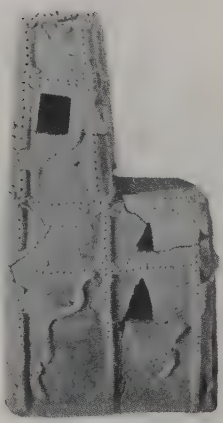


PLATE IX

a. Restoration of a model terra-cotta house with human figures, a serpent and an animal, *appliqué;* used in the cult of Ishtar. From Baisan. In Philadelphia. (After Alan Rowe, *The temples of Dagon and Ashtoreth* in *The Museum Journal,* September, 1926. See p. 68.

b. Cult object from the temple of Ishtar at Ashur, probably representing a two-storey house of wood construction. Surmounted by two lions. (After Andrae, *Die archäischen Ishtar-Tempel,* Tafel 15*a*.

c. Similar object from side, with serpents, *appliqué*. (After Andrae, *ibid.*, Tafel 14c.) See p. 67.

the pots near the lip. These marks generally consist of circles, differentiated from one another by the number of spots inside the circle. This characteristic has not yet been noted on pottery from southern sites, but it would be unsafe to conclude that it was unknown in the south. It is tempting to see in these marks the last traces of the painted pottery of the pre-historic period. One other pot of an interesting type is specially noteworthy: bosses have been stuck on to a four-legged vase in a manner that roughly suggests the human form (Fig. 6*a*). This very barbarous

Fig. 6*a*.

Terracotta vase of buff clay in the anthropomorphic style. From Ashur. (After Andrae, *Die archäischen Ischtar-Tempel*, p. 52, Abbildung 52.) See p. 69.

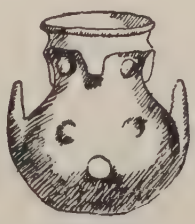


Fig. 6*b*.

Anthropomorphic jar. From Hissarlik (Troy). (After Forsdyke, *Catalogue of Vases in British Museum*, Vol. I., Part 1, plate II, A. 68.) See p. 69.

fancy is well known in Asia Minor (Fig. 6*b*); the type appears to have been found first in the Second City of Troy.[7] A somewhat similar device was used at Kish, where bosses and stippling combined give to the handles of water-jars of this period the appearance of a figurine representing a goddess. The device is not likely to have been invented in different places at about the same time; it is therefore probable that there is some definite connection between these "anthropomorphic" pots, but that connection need not necessarily be closer than is implied by trade contact.

If the objects of the early period from Ashur be considered as a whole, it is clear that Sumerian civilisation and the civilisation in the North were indistinguishable in their main features; and also, that the sway of Sumerian civilisation in the North was not an ephemeral one, for the buildings and objects discovered clearly cover a considerable lapse of time. On the other hand, there are objects which are probably not, or possibly not, quite the same in character; in two cases, the wooden houses and the "anthropomorphic" pots, there seem to be points of resemblance with early civilisation in Asia Minor, but this is by no means established as certain. At a point where trade routes cross, such a diversity of influences in the civilisation need arouse no surprise; but the dominant Sumerian influence is important historically, and has sometimes been misinterpreted. The evidence at present available is not sufficient to prove that the city of Ashur was, in the early period, a Sumerian settlement, and it cannot be used to support any theory of racial migration.[8] Possessing an extensive domination over the river valleys, a Sumerian dynasty would naturally impose its own methods of worship on a subject city; provincial governors of a subject city would naturally follow very slavishly the customs of their own country. This is as possible an explanation of the available evidence as that which would assume a purely Sumerian population in the early period; it is rendered the more probable by other evidence which cannot be neglected.

In the nomenclature of Ashurbanipal's astrologers the north-east is designated the land of Subartu;[9] and a careful scribe has added the note "we are Subartu" when reporting an old Babylonian omen from the stars which presaged an invasion from Subartu. The identification of Subartu and Assyria is not confined to the astrological literature, for Nabopolassar uses it in historical texts. This nomenclature appears to be a deliberate archaism, for the land of Subartu and the Shubaraeans are referred to in New Babylonian chronicles which record the history of the dynasty of Agade, and if the land of Assyria was ever included

in the land of Subartu, the period must lie during or before that time. In the thirteenth to the eleventh centuries Assyrian kings frequently refer to the land of the Shubari, a people often called "wide-spreading;" it is impossible precisely to define its borders, for it is sometimes mentioned in connection with Alzi, which lay in the Taurus west of Lake Wān, and more often in connection with the land of the Gutii, whose territory was south or south-east of Ḫulwan. It would appear from this that a Subaraean population extended from the hills now called Tur 'Abdin round the north and east of Assyria; and in the time of the Kassite king Kashtiliash,[10] the war of Kurigalzu "the little" with Assyria was referred to as "the war with Shubartu." The identification of Subartu and Shubartu, and the certainty that the word means the land in which the people called Shubaru lived, render it possible to draw a very important deduction concerning their language. In the fourteenth century Dushratta, king of Mitanni, was in close communication with the Pharaoh Amenophis III; his letters were generally couched in the Akkadian language, but in one case, for some unknown reason, another language was employed.[11] It has been usual to call this language "Mitannian" and to reckon it the native language of a "Mitannian" people; but Mitanni was the name of a political, not a racial, entity. The state was a factitious kingdom in which a ruling aristocracy, apparently of Iranian-Indian extraction, and their Ḫurri retainers, ruled over a mixed population formerly subject to quite different political divisions. The language in which the letter is written presents certain very distinctive features; it is not "proto-Hittite" or "Hittite" or "Luvian" or "Ḫurri," though the latter is only distinguished from it by dialectical differences.[12] But another group of tablets, business documents written in Assyrian of about the middle of the second millennium, have thrown welcome light on the question of this language. These documents, found on sites at and near the modern Kirkūk, deal with the proceedings of certain families dwelling in that area, and the names are in

part Assyrian of a usual type, in part certainly not Semitic.[13] Now the elements of which these names are composed can be definitely associated with the language in which Dushratta's letter is composed. There was, therefore, about the middle of the second millennium, a population which spread from the state of Mitanni to the district of Kirkūk speaking this distinctive language. There is, then, a coincidence of two facts: the geographical distribution of the Shubari according to the historical texts corresponds to the distribution of a people speaking a comparatively unknown but quite distinctive tongue. It is safe to infer that the language of Dushratta's letter is Subaraean, and that the names in the Kirkūk document are of Subaraean origin.

The affinities of this Subaraean language seem to be with an ill-defined group of languages sometimes called "Caucasian;" it shares some of the peculiarities of Elamite and Urartian, but the connection would appear to be very loose, and is by no means absolutely proved. The only races whose presence east of the Tigris are definitely ascertained for the early Sumerian period are the Elamite, and, north of Elam, the Gutii and the Lullumei or Lullubu. It may well be that the languages of these peoples were associated in origin, but it is a by no means necessary assumption. The connection of the lands of Subartu and Gutium in the texts arose from geographical considerations. But one notable physical trait the Subaraeans and Gutians shared. Documents of the period of the Babylonian Amorite or First Dynasty mention slaves from Gutium and Subir (that is, Subartu), and specify that they shall be of fair complexion; it appears therefore that fair complexion was typical of these countries, though racial admixture had already tended to debase the type.[14] Both in language and physical appearance, then, the Subaraeans appear to be connected with the population of the Zagros hills; in any case they are sharply distinguished from the Sumerians, the "black-headed," who spoke an entirely different language.

This Subaraean population, which spread across

from the district properly called Mesopotamia to the Zagros hills in the middle of the second millennium, was the chief element in the early population of the land of Assyria, for both Assyrian and Babylonian tradition agreed that in the time of the Agade dynasty the northern and eastern part of Assyria was called Subartu. It is true that this is, in the absence of contemporary inscriptions of the early Sumerian period, an assumption; but it is based on two sound lines of reasoning.[15] The scattered nature of this population in the second millennium points to the Subaraeans having been split up and driven into outlying localities by successive invasions; the original area they inhabited must then have included part of the land of Assyria. Further, the astrological and historical literature of the New Babylonian period is hardly "tradition" in the strictest sense, as it is understood in regard to the early history of the Latins or Persians. Wherever it can be tested by contemporary documents of the early period, it can be proved fairly accurate, and dependent upon precise written information. Confusion occasionally creeps in, but the soberest historical records are liable to confusion; and where the Assyrian astrologers and the New Babylonian chroniclers agree, as is the case in regard to Subartu including the land of Assyria in the early Sumerian period, the modern historian must accept the statement. Of the small Subaraean kingdoms at the end of the third millennium, such as Namar, ruled for a time by Arisen, little is known.

The historical evidence then points to the population of the land of Assyria in the early Sumerian period being Subaraean as clearly as the archaeological evidence shows that the civilisation was Sumerian in character. There is indeed no conflict between these two kinds of evidence, but rather the one explains the other.

There is some material in the various kinds of evidence described above for basing a few general conclusions which must serve as the only extant indications of the state of Assyria in the early Sumerian period. The main stock of the population, both in

the northern plain of Arbela and along the valley of the Tigris to the mouth of the lower Zab, was Subaraean, and the land of Assyria formed part of a tribal dominion which extended as far to the south-east as Kirkūk, and as far west as the Sinjar hills, or even the Ḫabur valley. The Subaraean people were in constant conflict with the Sumerians, and therefore in constant contact with Sumerian civilisation. The result upon them, as upon their Gutian neighbours and the people of Elam, was, in the main, that they were directly influenced by the superior civilisation. To a large extent this prevalence of the Sumerian element, at present only proved for the site at Ashur, but perhaps to be assumed in the north also, was due to the conquest of this territory by Sumerian kings and governors of the southern cities, concerning the extent of whose dominions we at present lack information. But the Subaraean people, who had come down from the hills north and north-east of Assyria, brought with them certain elements which testify to a connection with peoples in western Asia Minor. Thus the model houses which present so strange a feature at Ashur may have been the type of house naturally used in the wooded districts of the Taurus range, just as it was in central Cappadocia.

In spite of the extent of this population and the occasional successes which, according to later omen texts, fell to their lot in the wars with the Sumerians, there is no proof that in the early period it formed a united realm, governed from a central city by a single ruler. It is far more probable that, as is generally the case with mountaineers, local jealousies prevented union, and lack of organisation deprived a Subaraean victory of any lasting significance. A Sumerian governor, once well established in a walled town, such as Ashur even then was,[16] might well be able to maintain himself for many years. To this dominance of a more civilised and organised people the northern country probably owed at this period the comparatively high level of material culture exhibited during this period, as compared with the far less advanced

stages revealed in the cities of Syria and Palestine by excavations in those lands.

The early Sumerian dominance over the native population had a determining effect on the history of the country. Throughout all the later ages, whether the rulers of Assyria were dependent or independent, the cultural connections with the south put them in a very special relation to Babylonia. In temples which retained their Sumerian names, later kings recognised the worship of Sumerian gods ; Sumerian cult practices remained the standard of religious observance, however modified by later elements. In effect, the writer of the tenth chapter of Genesis was giving the substantial, if not the precise, truth when he stated that Ashshur (or Nimrod) went out of his kingdom of Babel and Erech and Akkad and Calneh, and builded Nineveh and Rehoboth-Ir and Calah and Resen.

CHAPTER VII

THE DYNASTIES OF AGADE AND GUTIUM

TABLE 3.—BABYLONIAN DYNASTIES FROM ABOUT 2700–2150.

AKSHAK about 2651–2559	
Unzi	30
Undalulu	6
Urur	6
Puzur-Sahan	20
Ishu-il	24
Gimil-Sin, son	7

KISH (3)	
Ku-Bau, the hostess	

KISH (4) about 2558–2467	
Puzur-Sin, son	25
Ur-Ilbaba, son	6 (?)[3]
Zimudar	30
Uṣi-watar, son	6
Ishtar-muti	11
Ishme-Shamash	11
Nannia'	3

GUTIUM about 2370–2282	
Imta	3
Inkishu	6
Nikillagab	6
Shulme	6
Elulumesh	6
Inimabakesh	5
Igeshaush	6
Iarlagab	15
Ibate	3
Iarlagash	3
Kurum	1
.....	3
.....	2
Irarum	2
Ibranum	1
Hablum	2
Puzur-Sin, s.	7
Iarlaganda	7
.....	7
Tirigan	40 days

ERECH (3) about 2528–2504	
Lugalzaggisi	25

ERECH (4) about 2380–2350	
Ur-nigin	7
Ur-gigir	6
Kudda	6
Puzur-ili	5
Ur-Babbar	6

AGADE about 2528–2332	
Sharrukin	55
Rimush, son	9
Manishtusu, brother	15
Naram-Sin, son	55
Shargalisharri, son[1]	24
"Who was king, who was not king?"	
Igigi, Imi, Nanum, Ilulu	3
Dudu	21
Shu-dur-ul	15

TABLE 3.—BABYLONIAN DYNASTIES FROM ABOUT 2700–2150—*contd.*

			ERECH (5) about 2282–2275		
			Utu-ḫegal $7+\frac{2\frac{1}{2}}{12}$		
	UR (3)[2] about 2277–2170				
ASHUR	Ur-Nammu	18			
	Shulgi, son	47			
Zariqu	Pur-Sin, son	9			
	Gimil-Sin, son[4]	9			
	Ibi-Sin, son	25			
			LARSA		ISIN
			Naplanum	21	Ishbi-Irra 32

[1] So the list. In his own inscriptions Shargalisharri calls himself "son of Dati-Enlil." Possibly Dati-Enlil was the son of Naram-Sin.

[2] The years of reign are variously given in the dynastic lists; those here given accord with the date lists.

[3] The list actually gives 400.

[4] Reading of name very uncertain. Some prefer Shu-Sin. In any case a Semitic name.

THE end of the domination of the Sumerians in the early period at the city of Ashur is marked by the dust and ashes which are the consequence of a great conflagration. To judge from the excavators' reports this conflagration would seem to have been of a general character, not confined to one building. Even so it might be possible to suppose that the conflagration was an accidental occurrence, were it not for the proof that some definite change took place about this time. On the ruins of the Ishtar temple, where objects of Sumerian type were found, a new building was erected, afterwards to be itself altered and restored in an unintelligible way. The intention of the building is obscure; parts of a drainage system are not inconsonant with the sacred character of the site in previous and later times, but the building seems to have been of an inconsiderable character. The small finds reveal nothing of importance; the pottery retains the general character of the pottery of the Early Sumerian period, that is to say it is a plain buff pottery with incised decoration, while a

single cylinder seal belongs to a not very common type of which occasional instances are found elsewhere. It may be that the city of Ashur was sacked, and that on the ruins new-comers or the native inhabitants raised a smaller structure. The age would appear to have been one of adversity and poverty for the city. Yet in one point the building differs from its predecessors and successors: its walls were laid on stone foundations. No conclusions can be founded upon this fact other than that the people dwelling at this time in the city of Ashur were not without the ability to use the natural resources at their disposal.

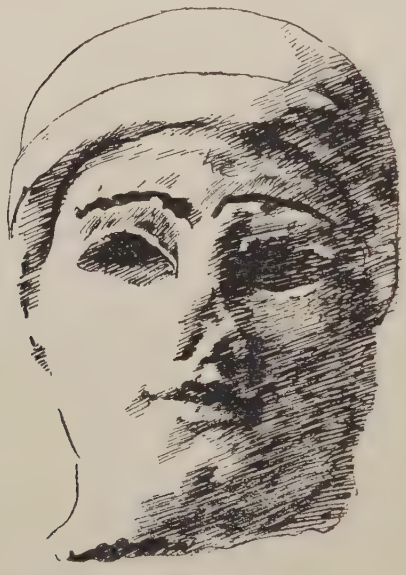


FIG. 7*a*.

Front and profile of head of a lady from a broken statuette of the period of Gudea. From Ashur. (After Andrae, *Die archäischen Ischtar-Tempel*, Tafel 39, *b*, *d*.) See p. 78.

Though no distinctive objects are assigned to this level at Ashur by the excavators, it is clear that a statue[1] attributed by them to the Early Sumerian period really belongs to this later time. The dress, the headgear, the modelling of the face (Fig. 7, *a* and *b*) all date this statue unequivocally, and the position in which it was found proves the matter beyond question. It is a very fine example of the statuary best known from the Gudea period at Lagash, and belongs therefore to the twenty-fourth century. It must be assumed, therefore, that the poor remains of buildings above the Early Sumerian ruins were built by men who lived between the end of the early period and the beginning of the twenty-third century. This is confirmed beyond doubt by the many proofs that the level immediately above the one under consideration contains remains

contemporary with the Third Dynasty of Ur. What was the history of Assyria during this period? Since there are no native sources, recourse must be had to the only country in Western Asia which has a written history at this period, Babylonia. From the historical information available from that country some part of the history of the northern land can be inferred.

The end of the Early Sumerian civilisation in the alluvium is marked by the rise to power of men with "Semitic" names. It has already been stated that Sumerian legends imply that this "Semitic" speech was in some way connected with "the mountain of Amurru," that is the high steppe which reaches from 'Anah westwards. But the Semitic speech employed in Babylonia was never known as, or confused with, the tongue of the west country. It was known as "Akkadian" and took its name from the powerful dynasty founded by Sargon at Agade, the city he built near Babylon. It would seem, therefore, that though men of Semitic speech came from the north-west into Babylonia, and for that reason were described in legends as "Amorite," their speech distinguished them from the inhabitants of Amurru. This is all that is really known about the origin of the men of Semitic speech in Babylonia, and even this requires confirmation from other evidence not yet available. Henceforth Babylonian Semitic will be referred to as Akkadian.

FIG. 7*b*.
Profile of head, 7*a*.

The first kings in the dynastic lists who bear Akkadian names are the last three kings of the dynasty of Akshak or Opis, who appear to have wrested the rule of that city from Sumerian rulers about the beginning of the twenty-sixth century. About the same time a similar transference of power took place at Kish, and the compilers of the dynastic lists have taken an amusing interest in stressing the plebeian origin of the dynasty of Akkadians who subsequently ruled there. Ku-Bau, a lady with a Sumerian name, was the hostess of a tavern, which would be given in the frank Elizabethan speech of England another title; yet she was the founder of a dynasty with names of quite a different order. Later scribes interpreted her name in Akkadian as Bau-ellit; but Bau was a purely Sumerian goddess, and there can be little doubt that this disreputable ancestress of Akkadian kings adopted a Sumerian name when it was better for the non-Sumerian inhabitants of the city to do so. Why the good dame secured her extraordinary prominence is not yet known. In part it may be due to the love of the Babylonians for a story of the sudden and unexpected rise of a person of low estate, a taste which the Persians shared in later days. But also in part it reflects a fact, that the Akkadian population first came to Babylonia as immigrants of little importance, who settled in the northern cities to pursue very humble avocations. In modern times the cant term "peaceful penetration" has been coined to denote a set policy; in ancient times the settlement of the Akkadians would seem to have followed much the same course, and the absence of set policy did not prevent the same results ensuing.

But the rise to power was followed by dissensions amongst the Akkadians. A young cup-bearer of the second king of Kish, Ur-Ilbaba, revolted from him,[2] and by force of arms established himself as king and founded a new city. The occasion was welcomed in the south by the Sumerian ruler of Erech, Lugal-zaggisi, who succeeded other kings not recognised in the canon of the dynastic lists. The great effort he made is recorded in an inscription[3] which states that he

marched from the Lower Sea, the Persian Gulf, over the Euphrates and Tigris to the Upper Sea, presumably the Mediterranean, which is generally so called. It would appear that in a single campaign he was able to extort some kind of submission for the time being from the Akkadian dynasty at Kish, from the insurgent Sargon, and from the petty rulers along the Euphrates, and even to the west. Lugal-zaggisi had behind him the whole remaining forces of the Sumerians in the south. His exploit was brave and reasonable; but for some reason still unknown he was unable to continue the pressure. One of his inscriptions is really a testimony to the complete domination of the northern cities by the Akkadians, for it is couched in the language of his enemies. Sargon, established in his new city of Agade, was able to overthrow the now feeble kings at Kish, and to bring about the defeat of Lugal-zaggisi himself. The founder at once of a great dynasty and of an imposing tradition, Sargon is duly credited in the dynastic lists with a reign of fifty-five years; the greater part of these were occupied in his struggle with Kish and Erech, and the beginning of his reign was dated by the chroniclers from his first rebellion against Ur-Ilbaba.

Round the figure of Sargon the fancy of the Babylonians played very continually; the "scientific" reasonings of modern scholars have more than equalled the achievements of their unscientific predecessors. As time has passed, the deeds of Sargon have been regarded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries A.D. as "mythical," as belonging to an unreal person who embodied at once the real Sargon and his great-grandson Shargalisharri, or as inventions of late scribes not supported by the evidence of his own inscriptions.[4] This last, and latest, view is likely to prove no better founded than the fantasies which preceded it, if pressed too far. Babylonian scribes were incapable of the higher flights of fancy, and historical romance is not a branch of their literature. Of all the texts[5] which concern Sargon the one commonly known as the "Legend of Sargon" is the most fanciful, and it is cast in a literary form which must be later than his own

age. The king himself is represented as telling his own story and adjuring his successors to follow his example, and the text ends with an account of some strange incidents connected with animals from which omens might be drawn. Clearly such a text can hardly be used for historical purposes in its entirety. Even the names may have been invented; the city of Azupiranu, which the king calls "my city," may simply mean "Elephant-cub town," for it is nowhere mentioned outside this text, and Akki the cultivator, who brought Sargon up and made him a gardener, bears a name which may mean no more than "the poor man, he that is in want." When the text relates that Sargon's mother set him in a basket of rushes, sealed it with bitumen, and threw him in the river, critics are justified in declaring that here is a folk-story similar to that told about Krishna in India, about Moses by the Hebrews, about Perseus or Neleus and Pelias in Greece, about Romulus and Remus at Rome. When the dynastic lists state that Sargon was a cup-bearer of Ur-Ilbaba, then it is legitimate to compare the legend of Cyrus told by Nicolaus Damascenus, just as the story of Cyrus told by Herodotus may be derived from the Sargon legend. But in other details the text seems to record facts which accord with the historical truth. Sargon had no father, that is he was of low birth, in the legend and in history; his uncle dwelt in the "mountain," and Sargon's plebeian stock must have come into the alluvium from the "mountain of Amurru." It would be unwise to base historical conclusions on this text; it is equally unwise to state that it is pure invention. It is probably based on fact. Sargon probably was Ur-Ilbaba's cup-bearer in history as well as in tradition. And when the legend includes accounts of the king's doings at Der and in the Sea-Land, it is corroborated by the New Babylonian chronicle.

The great compilation of omens derived from the internal organs of sacrificial victims contains several allusions to the period of Sargon and his grandson Naram-Sin. Sargon is therein regarded as the typical rebel, and a record of his campaigns can be deduced

from the different versions, Assyrian and New Babylonian, which are for the most part exactly the same as that given in the chronicle. Clearly, then, the omen texts and the chronicle are drawn from the same source (the omen texts containing, so far as can be proved, the earlier version), just as the compilers of the dynastic lists who describe Sargon as a "gardener" must have known some story like the legend. Perhaps all four accounts were derived from a common source; in that case the common source must date before the dynasty of Isin, which commenced to rule about the middle of the twenty-second century. Criticism must then take serious account of the fact that the texts, though they belong to the late period, may go back in their present form to a period no more than three hundred years later than Sargon himself.

Another part of the Sargon tradition is conserved in texts of still a different type. In a private house at the capital of Amenophis IV in Egypt there has been found a curious text which was the first part of a literary work entitled "The King of Battle." The title is noteworthy, because it is the honorific epithet which Rib-Addi of Byblos perpetually gives to his overlord Amenophis IV. How unsuitable the title was to that king may be seen from modern histories of Egypt. It can hardly be doubted that Rib-Addi is definitely alluding to the cuneiform literary text which was known to the cuneiform secretaries of the king. The text of this work recounted an exploit of Sargon which he was induced to undertake against the city Burušḫanda; this was a city in Asia Minor, as is certain from Hittite texts found at Boghaz Keui. Did Rib-Addi hint by the use of this title that the Egyptian, Amenophis, would be well advised to follow the example of Sargon, the king who left instructions to follow his example by fighting, amongst others, the peoples of Asia Minor? For there can be no doubt that, when the work was complete, "The King of the Battle" recorded a campaign of Sargon against a native king in Asia Minor. The curious feature about the text found in Egypt is, that it

does not seem to have been derived directly from Babylonia. For epigraphical reasons it is almost certain that it was written by a Hittite scribe, though it is composed in a dialect of the Akkadian language. The deduction to be drawn from this tablet is of the utmost importance for critical purposes. The Hittites knew this text, Rib-Addi of Byblos knew of it, and the Egyptian court had a cuneiform scribe who possessed a copy; were only the extant fragments from the city of Ashur known, the text would be given a much later date. The story of Sargon was therefore well known throughout Western Asia in the fourteenth century. The possibility that the three types of late text, the legend, the chronicle, and the omens, go back to the original of the dynastic lists of the twenty-second century is thereby rendered a probability. One curious critical problem presents itself. Sargon is stated in the text from Egypt to have started on his campaign in his third year. The late Assyrian version of the omens states that Sargon "crossed the western sea and in the third year in the west his hand subdued [all the lands]." The chronicle says, "He crossed the eastern sea and in the eleventh year his hand subdued the western land to its uttermost limit." The conclusions that may be drawn from a discrepancy of this kind are very varied. But the omens have received a surprising confirmation from the text out of Egypt; the error, if error there be in the omens, is a remarkable one, since the same error is found in a fourteenth-century text of an entirely different kind. The assumption of error is in fact too improbable to be maintained. But it would be rash to conclude that the chronicle is in error; it too may some day be substantiated by earlier texts. For the present it is better to assume that the chronicle and the omens are referring to two different years.

But this campaign to Burušḫanda in Asia Minor is only testified to by the fourteenth-century text. Criticism with fearful persistence has pointed out that in no contemporary text of Sargon is allusion made to any campaign to Asia Minor. The whole text is relegated to the abysmal depths of tradition

and romance, in spite of the fact that no certain historical romance is known in cuneiform. Strangely enough, there is a text[5] known as the "Legend of Naram-Sin" which attributes to that monarch an expedition to Burušḫanda and another town not yet known elsewhere. The Hittites also had copies of a text[5] which recorded Naram-Sin's campaigns in Asia Minor. They too must be earlier than the twelfth century; but they too, in the opinion of extreme critics, are traditional and incredible. The matter becomes even more obscure when some other texts of a geographical nature are considered. A tablet of the late Babylonian period has upon it a map of the world. The clime of Babylon is marked by a rectangle above the centre of a circle which represents the world; other cities and districts are marked by circles, not apparently in anything approaching a geographical order. Round the circle runs the "Circular River," from which a rectangular projection across the south represents the marshy waters into which the Euphrates and Tigris flow. Outside the "Circular River," which is closely parallel to the Greek conception of the Ocean, there are marked certain projecting triangles, described as *nagu*, a word now believed by some to mean "island." The early cartographer was able to state the exact distance between these *nagū*, and to add short descriptions of them. Thus of the one most nearly north of Babylon he says "360 *biru* (about 2385 miles) intervene. The place where the sun is not seen." To this map (Fig. 8) a text explaining it was appended, of which it is now difficult to judge the contents, owing to its fragmentary condition. Probably it opened with a long description of the marvellous "Circular River," the sea out of which animals came to Babylonia, after Marduk created them. Then comes the mention of Utu-napishtim, the Babylonian Noah, of Sargon, and of Nur-Dagan, the king of a country whose name is lost. There then followed details concerning the eight or nine *nagu*. Clearly then, according to the beliefs of the late Babylonian period, Sargon and Nur-Dagan lived in the same mythical neighbourhood as Utu-napishtim, where Gilgamesh

visited him; and the association of the names Sargon and Nur-Dagan proves that the scribe means the two who figure in the "King of the Battle." The critical problem thus becomes even more obscure,

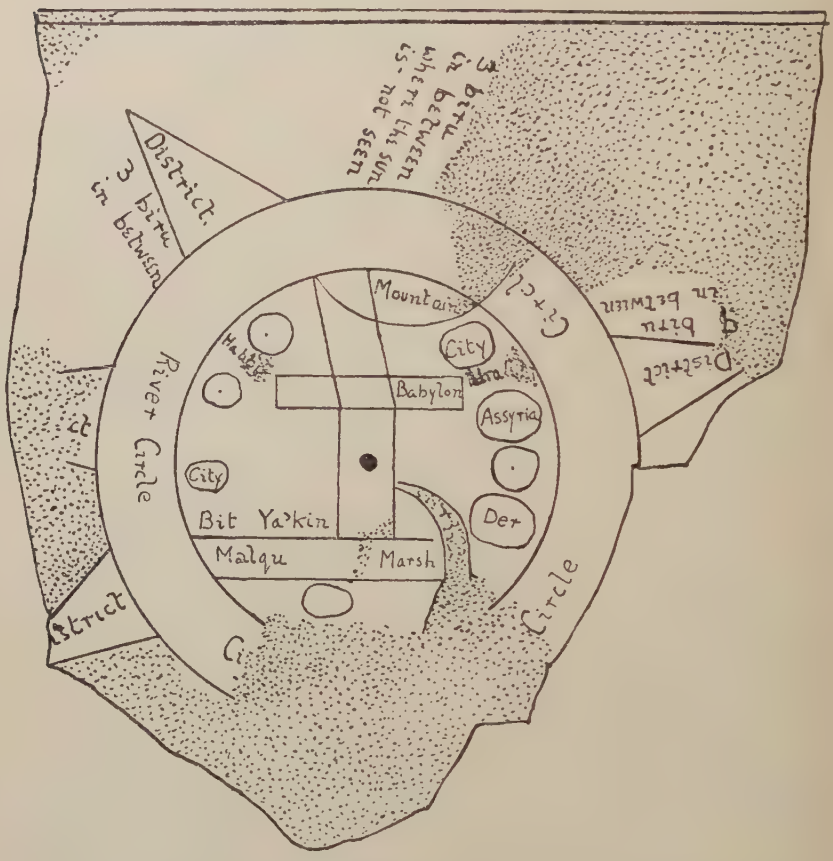


FIG. 8.

Map of the known world to illustrate Sargon of Agade's campaigns; from a Babylonian tablet dating from the 7th–5th centuries B.C. B.M. No. 92687. (After Campbell Thompson, *Cuneiform Texts*, part XXII, plate 48.) See p. 85.

and confusion of a worse kind is introduced by another text.

A text of the late Assyrian period which directly refers to the conquests of a Sargon who can only be Sargon of Agade, is in its present state not entirely intelligible. It included in the conquests of Sargon

Magan, which borders on Meluḫḫa, the cedar-mountains of the Amanus region, Ḫana, a kingdom which lay immediately north of Mari, and Anzanzan, presumably Anzan, the district later called Persis; it also referred to nine conquered kings. It then proceeded to mention kings who brought tribute, and taxes imposed on them by the conqueror for religious offerings. There then follows a careful description of the lands so subjected, based on delimiting an area by its boundaries as they existed at some very early period. The text is badly broken, and its meaning in regard to certain of the geographical areas and places mentioned is by no means clear, but it has exceptional importance because it does indicate the extent of Sargon's dominions to the north and west, and also because it contains certain phrases which show that the compiler of the text was familiar with the texts previously enumerated. Towards these texts it is necessary to adopt some critical attitude.

The attitude of the extreme critics is, that the story about Sargon of Agade and Nur-Dagan which can be in part reconstructed from "The King of Battle" and the geographical texts does not in itself command more authority than the tale about his birth and upbringing, and that in actual fact the story reflects the conditions, not of the time of Sargon of Agade, but of a later period. The critics are in fact applying the same methods to those texts as have been used in treating of Homer and the Old Testament, sometimes with untoward effects. But in dealing with cuneiform texts it must be noted that criticism of this kind must first establish its postulates. Would any cuneiform scribe write a pure romance around an historical figure? As well, it may be answered, as he would write a myth about the figure of Gilgamesh. But for critical purposes the two cases are in fact quite distinct. Granted that the Gilgamesh Epic is a myth invented to explain certain religious beliefs—and this is by no means an indisputable position, since the Gilgamesh story may be based on historical incidents —the purpose of most details in the myth can be explained. If the Sargon story is romance, then it is

pure romance, of a secular type unexampled in the remaining cuneiform literature. But how came the original writer to invent the figure of Nur-Dagan? How did he come to bring Nur-Dagan into connection with Sargon owing to the action of some merchants concerned with Burušḫanda? It must be distinctly stated that we do not know of any set of circumstances before the fourteenth century which exactly correspond to this account at any period of history later than the Agade dynasty, and we do not even know of a period when they may be true. For the present, then, it is best to leave criticism on one side and to devote attention to ascertaining exactly what the Babylonians, Assyrians, Hittites and others who copied these texts believed about Sargon of Agade.

The geographical description of the lands conquered by Sargon follows an intelligible order, Mari, Rapiqu, Assyria, Arrapḫa, Lullubu, Armani, Akkad, Gutium, Niqqum (or Hulqum), Dēr, Lagash, . . . unta, Aibi, Akkad again, Edamaruṣ, Mari, Malgium, Emutbal, three missing names, and then Shumer. The list follows the route up the Euphrates towards 'Anah, the Mari kingdom, thence to Rapiqu, the district between the Tigris and Euphrates in the latitude of Baghdad. The next step is northwards to Assyria, eastwards to Arrapḫa, the district of Kirkūk and the district to the north, between the Upper and Lower Zāb, the plain of Irbil; the districts south of Ḫulwan, the centre of the land of Lullubu, follow. The eastern border of Akkad itself then intervenes between Lullubu and Gutium; the description is that of the borders of the kingdom as established by the great king. The order and geographical disposition of the lands after that are by no means clear. But the point of interest is that up to this point the text has been dealing with a very circumscribed area. Any king in Sargon's position would naturally attack the lands listed in approximately the order given. Controlling the whole of Babylonia, and master of the hill-country to the east, he was in a position to overwhelm his neighbours.

The text then has very much the appearance of an historical record.

It continues with a rather different formula; distances between two points are quoted. Thus it states, "120 *biru* (about 800 miles) from the tail of the Euphrates to the border of Meluḫḫa is Bit-Sin, which Sargon, the king of hosts, when he conquered all heaven . . ." There then follow other similar notes: "40 *biru* (about 265 miles) length Marḫashi, 60 *biru* (about 400 miles) length Tukrish, 90 *biru* (about 595 miles) length Elam, 180 *biru* length (1190 miles) Akkad, 120 *biru* length (about 800) Subartu, 120 *biru* length the land . . . from Lebanon to Turukku, 90 *biru* length Lullubu, 90 *biru* length Anzanzan." What the exact intention of these figures may be is not yet known. But the scribe's general purpose is clear, that is, he is describing campaigns and conquests of Sargon which extended far to the south-west, and over enormous tracts of country east and far north of Babylonia. The figures given may rest on some error, in any case they are unintelligible; but the very circumstantial list of names cannot be so easily dismissed. The description then attributes to Sargon in the south-west and east lands which were hardly even known by name to his successors. Yet more followed: the text mentions "Ana . . . and Kaptara, lands beyond the upper sea, Dilmun and Magan, lands beyond the lower sea, and the lands from east to west, which Sargon king of hosts conquered three times," and further particulars now lost were given about these lands.

Of all the Sargon texts this geographical text is probably the least reliable, and there are better criteria by which to judge it than the others. The doubt arises whether the geographical terms are all those used in Sargon's time, and whether they are used of exactly the same localities. Why, for instance, does the name Tukrish not appear in the historical texts till late in the second millennium, if it was really used in Sargon's time? And where are the names of districts known in the reigns of Shulgi and Hammurabi, such as Ḫurshi, Kimash, Kakmum? The presence

of names we know to be late, the absence of names we know to be early, is a suspicious circumstance, and the writer of the text may have been using the geographical terms of his own day. But some of the names are undoubtedly correct, as Lullubu, Anzan; criticism is therefore not justified in going to extreme measures and rejecting all the evidence as a late scribe's imaginative interpretation. Different views are, and will be, held about this text; for the present writer it represents a sound tradition as to the course of Sargon's conquering campaigns, with geographical names not necessarily of his own time used to define the limits of his territories at various periods.

The earlier entries convey very clearly the impression that Sargon conquered Assyria, and ruled from the Zagros to the Lebanon; in the later, this same area is represented by the land of Subartu. There is no opposition between the two terms. If Sargon conquered the northern Tigris valley, then that conquest must have taken place either during the earliest period revealed by the excavations at Ashur, or at the very beginning of the second period. Some of the early statuettes found at Ashur may quite possibly date from reigns subsequent to that of Sargon, so that either alternative is equally attractive; if the conquest fell during the earliest period, the statuettes may in part belong to the time of the dynasty of Agade, as is probable for archaeological reasons, but if the conquest fell at the beginning of the second period, the sack of the city is accounted for. There can be little doubt that the conquest was accomplished by Sargon while he was still young, for his later campaigns east and west would have been impossible had he not been secure from attack in that direction. He was then ruler of Assyria at the time of the incidents related in the "King of the Battle" text, of which some account must be given.

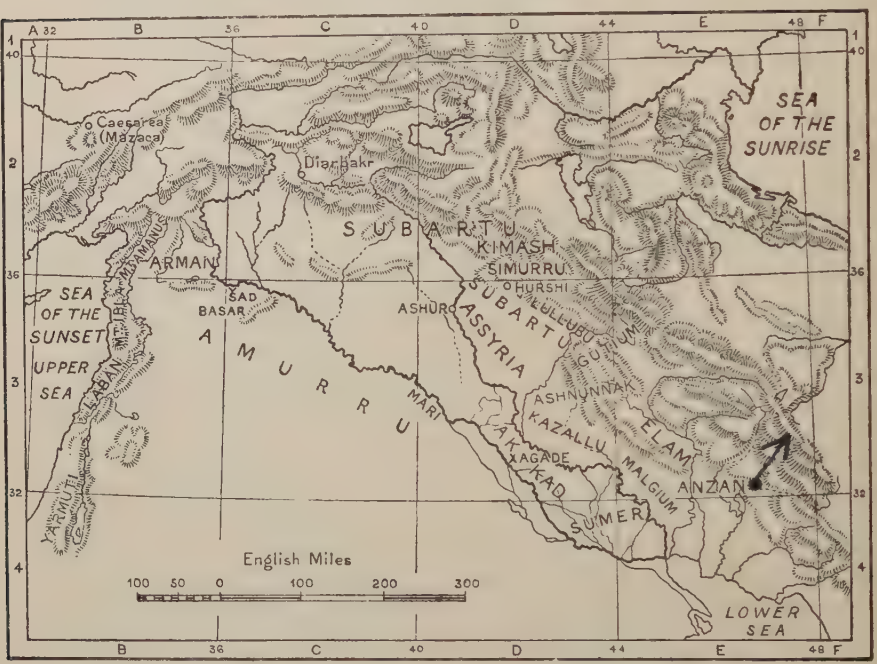
Sargon, according to this text, proposed to undertake an expedition against an enemy king who dwelt in a great mountain, where there were lapis lazuli and gold. His warriors dissuaded him from under-

taking the journey, in exactly the same manner as the elders in the Gilgamesh epic dissuaded him from undertaking the expedition against Humbaba. The road, they said, was long, difficult and mountainous; even when those who knew it travelled thereby, they must rest frequently, and yet they grew weary. Certain merchants stated their case and claimed the right to see the king, for which purpose they had travelled. The warriors did not allow the merchants entry; but Sargon appeared and inquired concerning the actions of "the king of battle of Burušḫanda," and received the same answer concerning the difficulties of the journey. After a considerable break in the text, Nur-Daggal (a variant form of Nur-Dagan) is introduced, encouraging his soldiers by explaining that Sargon cannot attack them, because of their river defences. But he had hardly finished speaking before Sargon, by a siege operation which is not yet wholly intelligible, entered the city. Thereafter Sargon, sitting on a throne in the captured city, taunted Nur-Daggal with the very words which had once been used to encourage Nur-Daggal's supporters, and that prince was compelled to admit the might of Sargon and of Akkad. The text concludes with an assertion of some joint intention, presumably on the part of Sargon and Nur-Daggal, to conduct an expedition against some person whose land, from the products mentioned (fig-tree, medlar (?), and vine), can only be Syria or the Taurus region.

This fragmentary text leaves many questions open. The merchants who are concerned to see Sargon appear to have aimed at securing his protection against the king of Burušḫanda; it may be assumed therefore that they came from Asia Minor, though this is not certain. But what nationality were they, and what was their speech? Nur-Daggal, or Nur-Dagan, resisted Sargon, presumably at some city on the Euphrates, for the king of Akkad, marching to Burušḫanda, could only have chosen the route along the Euphrates. Why did Nur-Dagan oppose the king who was making this attack, and in what relation did Nur-Dagan and the merchants stand to one another? Finally, who

was the king of Burušḫanda, to what nation and speech did he belong ?

These questions may perhaps receive some kind of answer when the events and conditions of a later period are considered. For the present it must be sufficient to state the tradition that in his third year Sargon, in response to the appeal of certain merchants from Asia Minor, undertook an expedition, and met with some resistance from Nur-Dagan. In later years



No. 2.—Western Asia from about 2530 to 2170 B.C. To illustrate the campaigns of Sargon of Agade, Naram-Sin and Shulgi.

Sargon went on other expeditions to Syria and the Mediterranean coast, but the information about them is meagre. An inscription copied from one of his statues states that "Enlil gave him the upper land, Mari, Yarmuti,[6] Ibla as far as the cedar forests and the silver mountains." The silver mountains referred to were in Cilicia, the same mines that Shalmaneser III visited later. To this extent the texts which are called legendary are confirmed by contemporary inscriptions.

The land of Assyria must have been concerned, directly or indirectly, in the war of Nur-Dagan and Sargon. But the king of Agade also came into conflict with the Subaraeans, much later in his reign. Sargon had embarked on a policy of settling his courtiers on public land, which was likely to lead to considerable discontent. "He settled his palace folk for thirty-three miles, and reigned over the people of all the lands," the chronicler states, and is confirmed by an inscription of Manishtusu which records a very similar settlement. An agrarian policy of this type has invariably led to revolt in these lands. Sargon's constant attacks on the towns in the Zagros hills, which, so far as we can judge, had previously been independent or under Elamite protection, though doubtless necessary, weakened his military power, and "in his old age all the lands revolted against him, and they besieged him in Agade." Sargon defeated them, and thereafter hostilities arose with Subartu, concerning which there are two different accounts. The chronicle says, "Afterwards he attacked the land of Subartu in its might, and it submitted to him, and Sargon settled that district (?) and defeated them; he accomplished their overthrow and their far-flung host he destroyed, and he brought their possessions into Agade." This agrees exactly with the New Babylonian version of the book of omens, but the Assyrian edition has a rather different account: "the omen of Sargon, whom by this appearance of the liver the land of Subartu in its might attacked; they submitted to force of arms and Sargon settled their habitations and defeated them and accomplished their overthrow. Their great host . . . he brought to Agade." It must remain doubtful therefore whether the hostilities arose from the action of Sargon or of the Subaraeans; but it is important to notice that the host of Subartu is already called "far-flung," an epithet which becomes almost a standing term in relation to this little-known people. It is also significant that the might of Subartu is emphasised. Sargon was not dealing, as some would insist, with an isolated mountain tribe who had settled in the plain about

Kirkūk; he faced and overcame the combined forces of the Subaraeans, if the phraseology can be trusted. The historical fact established is, that late in Sargon's reign northern Mesopotamia, the upper Tigris valley including the plain of Arbela, and the folk east of Tigris as far south as Kirkūk, were compelled, after rebellion, to admit Sargon once again as their suzerain.

From the texts which deal with Sargon it is a possible assumption that the land of Assyria in his time really fell into two halves. The northern marches of Akkad, between the Tigris and Euphrates, as far north perhaps as the city of Ashur, was known already as the kingdom of Assyria, and the kingdom may have been connected in some way with people who dwelt in Asia Minor. To the west, north, and east of this little kingdom there dwelt the Subaraeans, of whom we know nothing more at this period. In a general way the whole territory was reckoned part of Sargon's empire.

Sargon's reign ended in revolt and confusion; only Kish seems to have remained faithful to him outside the immediate limits of his city of Agade. His successors, the brothers Rimush and Manishtusu, were too much engaged in their Elamite wars to have time to spare for military adventures in the north; but Naram-Sin, according to tradition, followed very much the course of his illustrious grandfather. He was met by a great coalition at the beginning of his reign, which centred about the person of one Iphur-Kish, who induced the city of Kish to revolt. Now some would consider this person mythical, an invention of historical romance, because his name should mean "He rallied Kish" or the like; but this is by no means certain. In itself, the form of the name is not impossibly the original name; and it must always be borne in mind that a rebel of this kind would take some high-sounding name like that given in the text. Sargon himself had done so previously. There is not sufficient evidence therefore for dismissing the text in which this name occurs as unhistorical. The revolt of certain Babylonian townships was supported by an imposing array of princelings, and by some of considerable

strength. The districts east of Tigris were of course concerned in the revolt; the most northerly of the Euphrates districts reckoned part of Babylonia, Mari, was led into the struggle by its king, Migir-Dagan. His supremacy once established in the south, Naram-Sin must have turned northwards up the Euphrates valley, or possibly he followed the Tigris route; the chance discovery of a stele sculptured with the figure of Naram-Sin is the sole but sufficient proof that conquests not mentioned in either the contemporary or the later texts led to an annexation of the district about Diarbakr. It is incredible that Naram-Sin should have reached that point without overthrowing and very thoroughly subduing the land of Assyria, or, to use the terminology of his period, Assyria and Subartu. The historian is, then, faced by another serious difficulty, the importance of which has not yet been considered precisely because imponderable considerations are in question. On the one hand, modern critics would whittle down the texts dealing with this period by classifying a great part of them, namely those copied in later times, as legendary; on the other hand, a chance find proves that those texts actually omit mention of areas which were in fact subject to the king whose principal exploits they record. The modern critic has been met, in our present argument, perhaps evasively yet at least logically, by the consideration that we are not yet in a position to deny Babylonian tradition where that tradition records events not obviously based on religious beliefs. The doubts raised by the omission of the texts in the second case are even more serious. It might possibly be argued that Naram-Sin's conquest of the upper Euphrates and Tigris valleys to which the "Diarbakr stele" bears witness is not mentioned because in fact he had no need to conquer in that land; it must also have belonged to the kingdom of Sargon. This would indeed assume, what is not in itself improbable, that the Sargon legend records historical facts, in spite of the critics. But a more serious difficulty is presented by the fact that the last years of Sargon and of Rimush were marked by rebellions, and it is scarcely probable

that the suzerainty of Agade was acknowledged without a break in the Diarbakr region from the time of Sargon to that of Naram-Sin. Campaigns must have been conducted during the interval which are not recorded in the chronicles, omens, or contemporary inscriptions as we have them.

Some confirmation of this necessary inference, that Naram-Sin's armies marched far to the north, may be found in a fragment of a Hittite text which dates from the thirteenth or twelfth century. It records a war between Naram-Sin and Pamba, an early Hittite king whose kingdom may not have extended much beyond his native district, Kushshar; the war can only have been fought on the north-eastern borders of Cilicia or in Cappadocia. This Hittite text has not in itself more authority than the texts describing the exploits of Sargon, and indeed it, with them, has been considered a legend; so summary a critical method is even less justified in the case of Naram-Sin than in that of Sargon. Lord of an empire whose territory reached as far north as Diarbakr, it is more than probable that Naram-Sin came into conflict with princes of Asia Minor on several occasions. Not improbably Naram-Sin followed much the same route, on these campaigns in Asia Minor, as had been marked out by Sargon when he went north to deal with Burušḫanda. But a certain doubt must be allowed to attach to the name Pamba. This element appears at a later period in a personal name,[7] as though it designated a god, and it is possible that Pamba in the Hittite text is a truncated or perverted name. On the other hand, there is no room to doubt the existence of the Hittite king Telibinush, who also bore the name of a god; so that it is possible that Pamba might be at once the name of a god and a king.

Conquests of Naram-Sin in another direction, east of Tigris, must have brought him into conflict with the Lullubu, and so with the Subaraeans who lived in the Kirkūk plain. The battle with Satuni, king of Lulubu, commemorated in the great stele of victory, took place in the northern ridge of the Qara Dagh, and on the cliff side of the gorge now called Darband-i-Gawr, "The

Pagan's Pass," the king had a relief cut (Fig. 9) which is the prototype of the great stele. Fighting in that

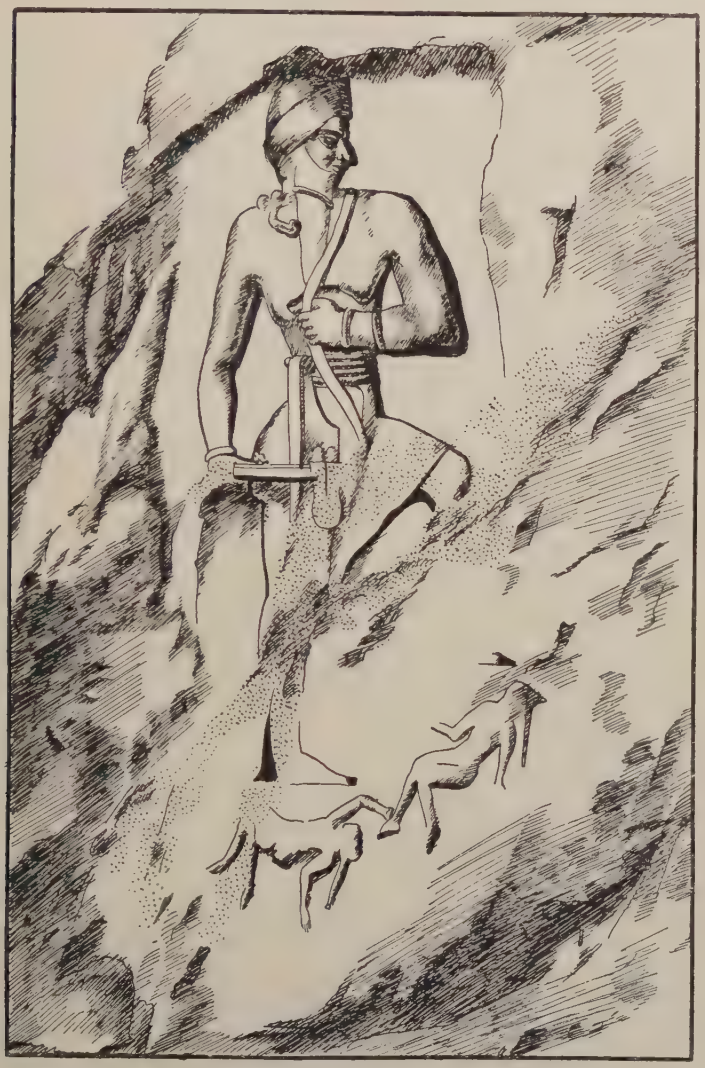


Fig. 9.

Rock relief in the Darband-i-Gawr Pass, representing Naram-Sin victorious over the Lullubu. This is the prototype of the great stele (*Sumer and Akkad*, frontispiece). (After C. J. Edmonds' photographs in *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. LXV., No. 1.) See p. 96.

quarter had, for a Babylonian king, only one object: the mastery of the Kirkūk plain and of the natural

road for traffic, now marked by the townships of Kifri, Kirkūk, Altun Koprü, necessitated a struggle with the mountaineers who held the fastnesses of the Qara Dagh, and were able on occasion to exercise some kind of rule in Kirkūk itself. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Naram-Sin's campaign against the Lullubu resulted from his dominance of the eastern part of Subartu. In his time, then, the whole of the land of Assyria was subject to Akkad.

One other campaign of Naram-Sin must be mentioned here because it was possibly directed towards northern Syria, and must then have affected the conditions in Assyria. On a statue from Nippur the king refers to a victory over Ḫurshamatki, the lord of Aram and Am, in the mountain Tibar. The reference to Aram in an inscription so early as this is quite isolated, and the other names do not lead to any definition of the territory intended. According to the writers of the books of the Old Testament Aram as a geographical term originally denoted the district about Harran, and it is not impossible that Naram-Sin's campaign was conducted there ; yet it is difficult to believe that, if the Aramaeans derived their name from Aram, they were already so far north. The Aram of Naram-Sin may have been one of the central Arabian oases. The evidence is by no means satisfactory, and the matter remains at present doubtful.

Naram-Sin's successor, Shargalisharri, was, according to his own inscription, son of Dati-Enlil ; but since he does not describe Dati-Enlil as king, it is very possible that Dati-Enlil was a son of Naram-Sin, and that Shargalisharri succeeded his grandfather, as is implied by the dynastic lists, in which he is erroneously called the son of Naram-Sin. In this reign the revolts which previous kings had been able to suppress once again broke out, north, south, east, and west. Only one incident in the lands outside Babylonia and Elam is known ; Shargalisharri "subdued the Amorite in Basar." It is possible that this Basar is to be identified with the Mount Beshri mentioned by Tiglathpileser I, which lay near the Euphrates between the mouths of the rivers Ḫabur

and Balih. The episode is then significant of the fact that Shargalisharri's power could be disputed early in his reign at a point within the empire, within easy reach of Babylonia. By the end of his reign the rule of the kings of Agade in the north must have been at an end. The war the king undertook against the rising of the Gutian tribesmen ended in disaster, and though the dynastic lists record names of his successors at Agade, and of a new line of kings at Erech, it is clear that there was no single established kingdom in Babylonia at the time, but that the kingdom of Agade was confined to a small part of northern Babylonia, and there lasted ingloriously for some forty years, while at Erech five "kings" claimed to rule Sumer for about thirty years. But these kingdoms in Babylonia were purely local and finally fell before the leaders of Gutium, now graced by the name of king, though the institution of kingship was foreign to the Gutians.

The land of Assyria then probably fell, at any rate partially and for a time, under the influence of Gutium at the end of Shargalisharri's reign. The dynastic lists attribute to the dynasty of Gutium a rule lasting 90 years 40 days, roughly 2370 to 2280, a period concerning which we have no information save that to be derived from the inscriptions of Gudea, who must have governed Lagash about 2300 or earlier. Exactly what happened in Western Asia, and more especially in the land of Assyria, during that time, it is impossible to say, but such changes as took place were not catastrophic. Gudea's very extensive commercial connections prove that, even though the empire of Agade was no longer ruled by one man, the Babylonians remained in close touch with the most distant provinces of that empire. Mount Amanus and Urshu in Mount Ibla, in northern Syria; Basalla and Tidanu, ranges in Amurru south of the Euphrates; Meluḫḫa and Magan, far to the south-east of Babylonia; all these are mentioned in connection with the products used in building the temple of his city god. From Ḫaḫu Gudea obtained gold-dust; and the fact is now established by later tablets that this mountain lay in Cilicia, somewhere south-west of Caesarea

(Mazaca) in Asia Minor. Everywhere, then, to the west trade flourished, as it must have done in the time of Sargon and Naram-Sin; what confusion and disorder was caused by the rule of the mountaineers from Gutium must have been confined therefore to the immediate north and east.

Not only Lagash flourished towards the end of the Gutian rule; both Ur and Erech were able to gather their forces in a renewed attempt to gain the lost hegemony. The end of Gutian predominance came when Utu-ḫegal[8] of Erech decisively defeated the last king of Gutium, Tirigan. But he himself was unable to face the bid of Ur-Nammu, the founder of the Third Dynasty of Ur, for power; with the rise and final supremacy of that dynasty, another period of civilisation may be said to begin.

This cursory examination of Babylonian relations with the north and north-west from Sargon of Agade to Utu-ḫegal has then revealed in very broad lines something of what took place say between 2530 and 2270 B.C., according to Babylonian tradition. Already in the time of Sargon Assyria was a politically distinct unit, which may not have extended across the plain of Arbela. Nur-Dagan, king of a city on the Euphrates, resisted Sargon in connection with a campaign against Cilicia or Cappadocia; it may be that Assyria already had interests in that region. This restricted Assyria fell before the might of Agade, as did also the Subaraeans to the north, and for some 150 years the whole of the land of Assyria was under the hegemony of an Akkadian king. Then came the period of ninety years assigned to the rule of Gutium, and the proximity of Assyria to the mountains in which the strongholds of the Gutians lay leads to the reasonable assumption that the land of Assyria was wholly or in part under the sway of barbarians. To these deductions from tradition must be added the historical facts, proved, as has been seen, by excavation, that the city of Ashur was destroyed at some time during this period, and that there was a breach between the earliest, Sumerian, civilisation and the period which succeeded it. The accounts of Sargon's reign assume that in his time

the land of Assyria was already so called, and its people were presumably Assyrians. Were they the same population as has been postulated for the early Sumerian period, a Subaraean race ruled by Sumerian governors from the south ? What was the origin of the Assyrian race as we meet it in later times ?

CHAPTER VIII

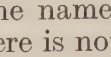
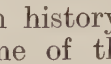
THE ORIGIN OF THE ASSYRIANS

THE consideration of the question of the origin of the Assyrians, a subject confusing in its nature and the more confused by modern speculations, must commence by an examination of the name Ashur. This name, of which two forms, Ashir and Ashur, were employed indifferently,[1] was, in the early period, used in three distinct senses; it might signify a city, a land, or a god. In later times it is regularly written Ashshur, and it is not impossible that this is the correct spelling grammatically; the early writing may well have been influenced by the dislike of a doubled consonant peculiar to a scribal school which may provisionally be called Assyrian, as will be explained later. If the spelling Ashir be the more correct, that is if it should prove that, at a period earlier than any we yet know, Ashir alone was the form used, then the explanation of L. W. King that the name means "the beneficent," "the merciful one," is certainly correct.[1] Not a few speculations have been based on a spelling which occurs in early texts, A-usar. It is conceivable that this writing is a scribal trick, giving a phonetic spelling of a Semitic word a Sumerian appearance. This explanation is not very satisfactory; and it is therefore possible that A-usar represents the original Sumerian name. This matter must remain doubtful, and hardly concerns the most important question. It may be that A-usar, the Sumerian city name, is the original form, but this is not favoured by the consideration that, if the name Ashur or Ashir is Semitic, then it may be paralleled by the name of the Hebrew tribe, Asher, and the southern Arabian district, Asir. It must be

noted that the Assyrian people were, in their own tongue, designated by the word Ashshuraiu, and this is clearly derived from the name Ashur or Ashir. The name was variously represented in other languages. The Hebrew manuscripts give אשור and אשר, which the Septuagint transcribes *Ἀσσουρ*, Josephus *Ἀσσούρα* or *Ἀσούρα*, while the common Greek form *Ἀσσυρία* appears in chroniclers of the period of Alexander the Great as *Ἀτουρία*. The evidence of later Aramaic and Syriac spellings[1] leads to the conclusion that the name Ashshur was pronounced Aththūr, so that others rendered the duplicated consonant sometimes by *s*, sometimes by *t*.

Was the name originally used to denote a god, a city and its environs, or a people? The question, in this particular form, is only applicable to this name Ashur or Ashir amongst all the names that might be cited in Western Asia; and the possibility that the name was first applied to a people or tribe is so little favoured by the linguistic evidence, as has been seen, that it may be dismissed as improbable. As between the other alternatives it is more difficult to judge. It is by no means impossible that a deity should derive his name from a city, though it must be admitted that, in similar cases in Western Asia, the derivation is more strongly marked than in the case of Ashir, Ashur. Thus the local god of Susa was called In-Shushinak, "the lord of Susa," a form which clearly marks that god as one who had no existence apart from his habitat. Perhaps the most legitimate argument in this matter may be derived from the early usage which names the city not as Ashir or Ashur, but as "the city of Ashir or Ashur;" this very clearly suggests that the city was named after the god. The same process is marked in the case of the city name Nineveh, which belonged to a township near Lagash in Sumer and to the Assyrian city in the northern Tigris valley. Both derived the name from a river goddess Nina, who was perhaps conceived to have the form of a fish. The evidence so considered points to Ashir or Ashur having been the name of a god, who need not necessarily have been originally a local god any more than Nina was.

If Ashur, Ashir originally denoted a god it cannot

have been applied to the city of Ashur in the period before the sack of that city, unless the view derived from the excavations on the site is entirely erroneous. The evidence already reviewed is that in the earliest period the city was inhabited by a population mainly Subaraean in character, whose civilisation was either derived from the south or imposed by Sumerian rulers. What the name of the city in that period may have been there is nothing to show. In the later periods of Assyrian history there were two methods of writing the name of the city of Ashur "ideographically,"  and  , which may possibly represent original names. The first name, "heart-city," rather recalls village names in the district of Kirkūk, while the exact pronunciation and meaning of the second name is uncertain; it may mean "the old capital." There is then the probability that the city of Ashur was first so called after the Sumerian period, and, since the land of Assyria is named in the texts concerning Sargon, before the time of the Agade dynasty. The fact revealed by the excavations that the city of Ashur was sacked and resettled by a new population, may finally prove to be connected with the invasion of the Assyrians, a people of Semitic speech, whose god bore a Semitic name.

The breach in the continuity of the civilisation implies that the conquerors, if they were Assyrians, did not immediately accept the civilisation they found when they came to the land. Is it credible that the first Assyrians to enter the city of Ashur should have caused this breach? It would hardly be so, were the Assyrian people simply an offshoot or "colony" from the Akkadians of Babylonia. The long settlement of people of Semitic speech in Babylonia, prior to their rise to power, determined the character of Akkadian civilisation, which is in truth simply the Sumerian civilisation adapted to new conditions. It is impossible to believe that, were the Assyrians directly derived from the Akkadians, a breach of continuity would have occurred in the north, since there was no such breach in the south. But if the name Ashur originally denoted a god; if, from the name of

the god, the city and land were first called Ashur before the time of Sargon of Akkad, but after the sack of the city; if the Assyrians, the worshippers of the god Ashur, came into their new land without having adopted and adapted the Sumerian civilisation as the Akkadians had done; then the sack may have been due to these invaders, and there is a probability that the Assyrians originally came as conquerors from some district removed from direct Sumerian influence.

The question of the origin of the Assyrian people has been little discussed, and never fully examined, though generalisations on the subject have been allowed to colour or prejudice modern views of history. Perhaps the most general assumption has been that Assyria was an early Babylonian colony,[2] planted by the people of Semitic speech in Babylonia, the Akkadians, at some period preceding the dynasty of Agade. Closely examined, there is but slight evidence on which to base this view, and there are reasons for believing it untenable. The view arose perhaps from the statement in the book of Genesis (x. 11) that Ashshur (or Nimrod) went out of Babylon and founded Nineveh, Rehoboth-Ir, Calah and Resen. This statement is corroborated by the Early Sumerian civilisation found in Assyria, and the general dependence of the country upon the civilisation of Babylonia is so marked throughout history that, regarded superficially, the matter might seem settled. The linguistic evidence of a close connection between the Assyrian speech and Akkadian at one time allowed of the opinion that the Assyrians spoke a dialect directly derived from Akkadian.

The position with regard to the linguistic evidence has been changed considerably by increased knowledge of the Assyrian language in the second millennium B.C. In vocabulary and vocalisation the difference between Assyrian of the "middle" period and Akkadian is too considerable to allow of the former being considered simply a dialect of Akkadian, and though there is not sufficient direct evidence to decide the character of Assyrian in the earliest period, the inscriptions of Ilushuma, Erishum and Shamshi-Adad show

that the difference in speech between Babylonia and Assyria was greater about 2000 B.C. than in 700 B.C. The linguistic evidence in fact points to Akkadian and Assyrian being derived from a common original, rather than to Assyrian being a dialect derived from Akkadian. The division between the two types of the so-called "Eastern Semitic" branch of the great Semitic family of languages must in any case have arisen many centuries before 2000 B.C., about the period of the earliest purely Assyrian inscriptions known to us; on linguistic grounds it is necessary to assume that Assyrian and Akkadian were distinct even so early as the time of Sargon of Agade.

On other grounds also it is impossible to admit that the Assyrians were an Akkadian colony. The difference between the social institutions of the Babylonians and the Assyrians is to some extent known to us; the Assyrian laws of the second millennium deal with a society in which the position of women differed very markedly from that in Babylonia, in the court of the Assyrian king there were officials and a court etiquette not known in the south. It is not possible to treat these differences as arising rather from an independent development than an independent origin, because two of the most marked differences, the distinctive Assyrian calendar and the dating by *limmu*, are to be found in the earliest period. Both of these distinctions are fundamental. Had the Assyrians come out of Akkad to Assyria, it is impossible to suppose that they would have invented a new calendar; either one of the calendars used in different Babylonian cities would have been used also in Assyria, or the calendar of the original inhabitants would have been employed. But the Assyrian calendar is definitely the calendar of a people of Semitic speech, and cannot therefore have been used by a people of Subaraean speech until after they had adopted Semitic speech. The argument leads directly to the conclusion that the Assyrians cannot be an offshoot of the Akkadians. Similarly the institution of the *limmu*-ship was unknown in Babylonia, where the year was dated by an official description of some important political or religious event.

The practice of naming the year after an individual is a peculiar one, which was observed also in Greece and Italy; it depends upon a mixture of religious belief and political custom which debars the historian from accepting the view that the Assyrians came into the southern part of the land of Assyria from Akkad.

It would be possible to reinforce these arguments with many others of no less force. Thus in the late Assyrian documents the legal formulae retain penalties which were in fact never put into practice save at the earliest period. Now these penalties are of a type that do not appear in the Babylonian law of any period, and there can be little doubt that the view of certain scholars that Assyrian law presents completely the type of Babylonian law-giving and legal practice, with certain individual barbaric features, is not correct.[3] Assyrian law is free from Babylonian administrative and legal terms, has different officials and a different practice. It is natural to conclude, therefore, when a formula for penalising breach of contract mentions the burning of an eldest son that this arises, not from the debasing of a more humane (Akkadian) penalty, but from the Assyrian law, which was originally distinct in its main characteristics from Babylonian law.

Since the Assyrian people did not come from Sumer and Akkad, it is necessary to consider the possibilities as to their source of origin. These possibilities are by no means so unlimited as might appear, if the geography of the period of the conquest of the city of Ashur be considered. The peoples of the Zagros hills are known to have spoken non-Semitic languages, and to have borrowed the most important elements of their civilisation from Sumer and Elam. It is therefore impossible that the Assyrians should be Subaraeans who had adopted Babylonian civilisation and speech; the theory, which has appealed to several modern writers because it was thought to account for certain royal names and geographical terms, fails to account for the fact that Assyrian is not simply a debased dialect of Akkadian, and assumes that the Subaraeans had a civilisation with certain

features not exampled amongst the other peoples of the Zagros hills. The reasons for which this theory has been adopted are based upon an error. The royal names Kikia and Ushpia are not necessarily Subaraean; the Subaraean names in Assyria are to be accounted for by intermarriage at a date after the Assyrians came into the Tigris valley. The use of "Subaraean" as a synonym for "Assyrian" also arose from circumstances prior to the Assyrian invasion. The east, then, is excluded as a place of origin. It is equally impossible to suppose that the invaders marched down from the north along the river, for at the time of Sargon of Agade the Subaraeans were probably an independent people who maintained their rule in the plain of Arbela and across the north of Assyria to the Ḫabur valley. Had the Assyrians pressed down from the north, this situation could hardly have arisen. If the South, East and North are thus excluded, the possible origin of the Assyrians can only be to the West.

In the west, it is true, various possibilities have been suggested. Historians have been for many years in the habit of preluding any consideration of the early history of Western Asia by a disquisition upon the nature and habits of the Arabian tribes.[2] In Central Arabia, the argument runs, is the home of men who speak a form of Semitic speech assumed by some philologists to represent an earlier phase of language than other members of the Semitic group; there, then, is the original home of all men of Semitic speech. The inhabitants of central Arabia are nomads; the peoples of Semitic speech west, north and east of Arabia were, on this hypothesis, nomads who settled in the rich lands about them. Once, and once only, in certainly recorded history did armies march out of Arabia to conquer the world. From this single occasion the modern scholar has without hesitation deduced the theory of a desert population which grows, increases, and then overflows the lands about. It need hardly be pointed out how insecure and often groundless is the line of reasoning adopted by those who believe in this theory. The preliminary conditions of the

Muslim conquest of the world were peculiar, and by no means due to the over-population the theory presupposes. The result of that conquest was not an extensive settling of the lands north, east and west of Arabia by nomads: such tribes as did migrate, for instance into Africa, sometimes retained their nomadic character. In Mesopotamia and the river valleys the Muslim conquest did not lead to more than the establishment of a certain number of individuals as military and religious officials; there was no great tribal migration to these countries. In any case the argument from analogy is unsound; an historical analogy can only with difficulty be established when the facts are certain. The principal reason for seeking the origin of such a people as the Assyrians in Arabia has in fact been a theory of the linguistic origin of their language. But the theory is in itself uncertain; and to derive the history of a people from the theoretical development of their language alone is inadmissible. Moreover, the true facts as to the development of the Assyrian language in the early period are as yet hardly known.

There have not been wanting certain subsidiary lines of argument which might be thought to support the thesis of an Arabian origin of the Assyrians. Some have professed to see in Assyrian character and custom peculiarities of the Arabian nomadic tribe.[2] Impartially considered, this very subject of character and custom should lead to an opposite conclusion. Nomads rarely settle in an agricultural district in large numbers, though individuals may do so. The Aramaeans, the best example of a settlement in mass, present peculiar conditions for which there is no parallel in earlier periods. They came, not directly from the central or southern Arabian desert, but from the middle Euphrates valley and Syria, to Babylonia. The Assyrians were, from their advent into the Tigris valley, a settled agricultural population, and it is reasonable to suppose that they came from a district where they had been settled and had practised agriculture. But the decisive evidence is provided once again by the institution of the *limmu* and by the nature of the Assyrian calendar,

as in the case of the supposed colonisation of Assyria from Akkad. It is impossible to suppose that a people who brought such institutions with them into the Tigris valley came straight from the desert.

If the Arabian desert be eliminated from the possible list of places whence the Assyrians migrated, there remain but a few possibilities. The land of Amurru, which consisted of the hill country south of Damascus and the cultivable land along the right, the western or southern, bank of the Euphrates to the borders of Babylonia, was, as has been seen, the source of the large Semitic infiltration into Babylonia which finally secured domination in that land and came to be called Akkadian. Granted that an individual people, such as the Akkadians became, sprang ultimately from Amurru, is it possible that the Assyrians came also from some part of that very considerable area? The possibility can hardly be denied; but it must be remembered that the circumstances in Assyria and in Babylonia were fundamentally different. The excavations at Ashur have revealed, as has been seen, that there was a thorough sack of the city and a complete breach in the civilisation. The Assyrians, who may naturally be associated with this event, came then as conquerors, bringing a civilisation of their own. In Babylonia the position was in no way similar; yet it is extremely difficult to suppose that, if the Assyrians conquered the city of Ashur shortly before the time of Sargon of Akkad, the Amorites who continued to immigrate into Babylonia after that date would not have brought with them also some typical institution like that of the *limmu*. Similarly in the case of the calendar, there is the certainty that the month-names used in Amurru were not those of the Assyrian calendar. Finally, there is the distinction between the Amorite language and Assyrian and Akkadian. The linguistic evidence that Assyrian and Akkadian sprang from a common original allows of some doubt in this matter, if the Akkadians came from Amurru, as Sumerian legends asserted; it is possible that the Akkadians were the people of the North Syrian desert before the Amorites. Even so, it

is probable that Assyrian developed as an independent language in some area beyond the desert, whether Akkadian or Amorite was the prevailing speech there.

There is a curious entry in a geographical list of the late Assyrian period.[2] The Sumerian name Martu is translated " the mountain of Amurru " and explained as " the land of Assyria." The precise intention of the scribe is doubtful; " the mountain of Amurru " was no more than a vague expression for " the west " in his time, and the entry may simply mean that in a particular text, of which he was explaining the geographical terms, he understood Amurru to include Assyria, or *vice versa*. No deductions can be drawn from this text until the purpose of the scribe is revealed.

For these reasons the early home of the Assyrians may be supposed to be west of the Tigris, north of the desert, and probably north of the Euphrates. In that limited area any one of several localities might be claimed as a possible land for the development of the peculiar racial characteristics of the Assyrians, the Ḫabur valley, the Baliḫ valley, the Harran district, the coast region, or the northern hills. The choice between these areas must depend upon a factor which has not yet been considered. In physical type the Assyrian resembled very closely the later Aramaeans of Syria; short, stout, with fleshy nostrils, fat cheeks and an excess of curly black hair, the race is still well represented in the modern world. But this type is far different from that of the Arab, a thin, cadaverous fellow who rarely possesses an abundance of hair, whose features are marked by a certain delicacy and precision which are entirely lacking in the Aramaean-Assyrian type. This strange distinction in physical type, which runs all through the peoples too frequently called " Semitic," raises a question of wide import, the ramifications of which it is here impossible to follow; the question is, to what extent were the peoples who used Semitic languages derived in the earliest ages from one single stock, to what extent were Semitic languages adopted by peoples whose mother-tongue was not Semitic ? This question,

generally avoided by the glib discussion of supposedly common characteristics of the so-called Semites, must however be considered if the manifold problems of early Assyrian history are to be accurately envisaged. For in addition to the peculiarity of physical type there is a peculiarity in nomenclature; that is, there were certain names in use among the early Assyrians which were not, apparently, of Semitic origin, and therefore point to the inference that there was a considerable element among the Assyrians whose language was not originally a Semitic tongue. The conclusion that the early Assyrians, before they came into the Tigris valley, were really a people of very mixed origin whose common speech had come to be of the Semitic family owing to events of which we know nothing, accords in fact very well with the linguistic evidence. Though Assyrian was at one time a language with a full inflection of nouns and a verb formation precisely similar to Akkadian, decay of the forms and corruption of the pronunciation set in at a very early date precisely in the manner that might be expected in a people largely mixed with men of another race.

This view of the strange names which occur among the Early Assyrians depends upon no philological theory as to their nature and origin, except in so far as it is clear that they are not Semitic. There has, however, been a considerable amount of speculation about these names; and views derived from speculation are apt to be considered historic facts. Two early rulers of the city of Ashur are mentioned by much later kings for their building activities. They are called Ushpia or Aushpia and Kikia. On evidence which is in itself incomplete, and by no means conclusive, these names have been by some described as Mitannian, and a Mitannian domination of the city of Ashur has been deduced from them.[4] These particular names will not in fact bear the interpretation placed upon them. They appear in documents from Caesarea (Mazaca) of about 2100 B.C., and one of them, Kikia, appears also in the Kirkūk tablets of about 1500 B.C. The only common element in these communities, widely separated both in point of

time and location, was provided by the Assyrians, and all that can justly be inferred from the names is that Assyrians bore certain personal names which were not Semitic. Incidentally, it should be noted that the not infrequent use of the name Mitannian as denoting a linguistic entity is incorrect ; Mitanni was a political term, used to denote a kingdom which depended not upon ethnic or even geographical unity, but upon the military power of a dynasty.

The factor, then, that must be considered in relation to the question of the origin of the early Assyrians is the phenomenon of a race which, though it speaks a Semitic tongue, is more closely related by blood and by social institutions with races which do not belong to the Semitic-speaking family. Throughout the course of history the extraordinary feature of the Semitic languages has been the willingness of aliens and immigrant peoples to use them, and finally to adopt them altogether, a feature which in some respects is shared by modern English. This power of a Semitic language to overwhelm other tongues was illustrated in Babylonia by the final supremacy of Akkadian over Sumerian ; in Amurru, the west Semitic maintained itself against the many foreign tongues brought in by various ruling aristocracies. The astrological omen texts not infrequently mention the rule of a "strange tongue" in Amurru ; the tenacity and adaptability of their language can hardly have failed to draw the attention of the Babylonians and Assyrians themselves. In the dictionaries of Semitic words compiled by them they occasionally note of a dialect word that it was used, for instance, "in Subaraean" ; the adaptation of Semitic dialect words by men of other speech is thereby sufficiently characterised. There is then the possibility—even the probability, in view of the evidence of physical type—that the Assyrian people were originally men of a race different from the Akkadians, but so largely influenced by men of "East Semitic" speech, and intermixed with them, at a very early, prehistoric, period, that a Semitic tongue closely related to Akkadian came to be spoken by them.

The consequence of this line of argument, could it be certainly established, would be to locate the original home of the Assyrians in a district where a population of non-Semitic speech might have lived in close contact with men of "East Semitic" speech; and such a district is more probably to be found in the Ḫabur or Baliḫ valleys than in the more distant western regions. Though the argument is based on insecure and trifling indications, the conclusion so closely accords with probability that it may be correct. There is little difficulty in assuming that in the period long before 2600 B.C. a population, probably of some one of the peoples of Asia Minor, distinct from the Subaraeans and the people of the lands east of Tigris, became overwhelmingly intermarried with, and influenced by, people who spoke a very early dialect related to Akkadian, somewhere in the region of the river valleys named. The process of assimilation thereby assumed would require several centuries. This speculation as to the origin of the Assyrians is perhaps all that our present sources of information will ever allow; and, as has been seen, it can at most be characterised as a possible or probable hypothesis.

The distinctive calendar which has been frequently referred to in this discussion of the origin of the Assyrians is the most important available evidence for considering the level of civilisation to which they had attained previously to the invasion of the Tigris valley. This calendar is known from two different sources.[5] In later periods the scribal schools compiled lists of the various calendars known to them. Those which are still extant, three in number, were obviously drawn up for the purpose of equating old and out of date month names with the regular Akkadian calendar; in regard to the Assyrian month names they represent two different arrangements. Since these lists are badly broken, they have to be restored from the second source, the temple and private business documents of the early period. From this second source it is possible to establish the important fact that the Assyrian calendar did not begin with the months variously equated by sources of the first class with the Akkadian

Nisan, but with a month previous to them. The calendar is thus established as follows :—

Assyrian Month. [Month of]	Babylonian Equivalent. A.	B.
1 Qarrate.	12 Addaru.	11 Šabaṭu.
2 Tan (?) marte.	1 Nisannu.	12 Addaru.
3 Sin.	2 Aiaru.	1 Nisannu.
4 Kuzalli.	3 Simanu.	2 Aiaru.
5 Allanate.	4 Du'uzu.	3 Simanu.
6 Belti-ekallim.	5 Abu.	4 Du'uzu.
7 Sarate.	6 Ululu.	5 Abu.
8 Kinate.	7 Tašritu.	6 Ululu.
9 Muḫur ili.	8 Araḫsamna.	7 Tašritu.
10 Ab šarrani.	9 Kisilimu.	8 Araḫsamna.
11 Ḫibur.	10 Ṭebitu.	9 Kisilimu.
12 Ṣippim.	11 Šabaṭu.	10 Ṭebitu

The exact significance of the discrepancy in the two series of Babylonian equivalents is not easy to determine. It might arise from a choice of years in which the discrepancy caused by the difference of the lunar and the solar year had not been corrected in Assyria by the intercalation of an extra month. On the other hand, it may point to a real shift of the beginning of the year in different periods. There appears to be no evidence at present of a nature to decide this question ; but even if there were some shift of the calendar in the earliest periods, it is unlikely that it was connected with the eras of certain signs of the zodiac, as some have supposed.[6] But no other circumstance could more clearly reflect the historical fact that the Assyrian calendar has an origin independent of the Akkadian or any Sumerian calendar.

Another difficulty of no little importance in this calendar is the absence of any intercalary month. Indeed, the origin of the practice of intercalation even in Babylonia is a subject of obscure guesses rather than of certain knowledge. It is possible that the Assyrian calendar did not admit of an intercalary month until a comparatively late epoch, and this would account for the divergence in the equations offered by the different sources with Babylonian months. But it is hardly probable that the beginning of the year was at any time allowed to fall later than a lunar month after the spring equinox ; the derangement

of the festivals alone would make this an intolerable nuisance for an agricultural population. It will subsequently be seen that other month names belonging to this same calendar are known, and that it must have been in use over a large area. Unfortunately there is considerable doubt as to the exact meaning of some of these month names. It must be understood that these names are genitives of nouns, and that in the early period the name required the expression "month of" before it. The name of the first month is of uncertain meaning, but it is the plural of a noun *garru* or *qarru* or *karru* which by its root is connected with the verb *g(k, q)araru*. Now Shalmaneser III, in describing[7] his second period of the office of *limmu*, "In my thirty-first year, when for the second time I . . . (*ag(k,q)ruru*) the lot (*pūru*) before the gods Ashur and Adad." The verb, since it denotes the fact that the lot fell upon Shalmaneser, must mean "I pulled, or drew" the lot, or the like, and the first month of the year was called *q(g,k)arrate* because in it lots were drawn for the office of *limmu* in the ensuing year. Now according to one source, this month corresponded with the Babylonian Adar; but the feast of Purim, "the lots," is celebrated by the Jews on the 14th and 15th Adar, in memory of the events recorded by the book of Esther. There is, then, considerable ground for believing that the two are connected, and that the celebrations of Persian times are connected with the very early institution of the *limmu* among the Assyrians. For the present it is sufficient to note that the *limmu* was already a recognised office before the Assyrian calendar was formed.

The name of the second month is not absolutely certain. On tablets found near Caesarea (Mazaca) there is a month *Takmarti*, but no month *Tanmarte*, and it is possible that the sign *tan* should be considered in this word a confusion for *tak*. The word *tanmartu* should mean "shining forth"; if the same Babylonian source be used as in the case of the first month, it is equivalent to Nisan, or March–April, and the name "month of shining forth" refers to the renewed ascendance of the sun after the spring equinox. But

if the name was really "month of completion," another view must be taken, which would depend upon the equation of the second source with the Babylonian Adar. In either case it is not improbable that the name took its rise from astronomical observations and astrological practices.

This astronomical-astrological nature can certainly be ascribed to the name of the third month, "the month of the moon-god," though the reason for giving it this name is not at present known. The names of the fourth and fifth months, on the other hand, belong to the terminology of an agricultural people. The *kuzallu* which gives its name to the fourth month is identical with the *kazallu* which is given the plant or wood determinative in plant lists; very probably it denotes some kind of gourd. The fifth month is named after the terebinth, a tree especially valuable for the sake of its product, turpentine, constantly used in early times, more particularly as an external remedy for certain sicknesses. These two names are of special importance in considering the level of early Assyrian civilisation. It has already been argued that they came into the Tigris valley from the west, most probably from one of the river valleys north of the Euphrates. This receives strong confirmation from these month names, for the gourd and the terebinth belong to the flora of Syria. The names prove, moreover, that at the time when this calendar was first used, the forefathers of the Assyrians were already engaged in the cultivation and use of natural products, often for highly artificial purposes. Cultivation of this kind is only possible for a settled people; it is beyond the capabilities of a nomadic folk. It is clear therefore from these month names that at a period long prior to the invasion of the Tigris valley the early Assyrians were a settled people engaged in agriculture of a special kind.

Just as the third month was named after the moon-god the sixth is named after a goddess, while the ninth is named from the *muhurru* offering made to the gods. This arrangement seems to depend upon a division of the year into quarters, which would demand

that the word *ṣippu*, the meaning of which is at present obscure, should similarly denote a month connected with some cult or ritual act. The reason for the association of the sixth Assyrian month with "The Lady of the Palace," a title of Ishtar, is probably to be found in the second Babylonian equivalent, Du'uzu. In Babylonia the month June–July, when vegetation disappears and the streams dry up, was named after the male god, who died even as the vegetation; the earliest Assyrians named the same month after the goddess whose anger was the cause of the death of Tammuz.

The exact significance of the remaining month names is not yet known, but the examination already conducted is sufficiently instructive. From it may be deduced the settled, agricultural character of the early Assyrians, their practice of religious cults and festivals, resembling, yet different from, those of Babylonia, and their very early adoption of the custom of throwing the lot for the choice of the *limmu* official for the ensuing year. To the institution of the *limmu* it is now necessary to turn to discover what kind of social organisation the office implies. It must be remembered that the naming of a year after the particular individual or individuals who hold a certain religious office, though a custom observed in various different countries, is by no means natural to races of a low grade of civilisation, nor is it an institution which naturally arises among peoples continuously governed by kings. Both at Athens and at Rome the practice arose, according to the tradition, from the republican movement, which installed city governors in place of kings. But among the earliest Assyrians there was this custom; and it is historically incredible that at so early a period, and in the East, there was a conscious political tendency towards a rotatory magistracy as opposed to a kingship. To speak of "an almost republican constitution" in such a case is to be guilty of the worst kind of anachronism.[8] The explanation of the *limmu*-office must be sought elsewhere, in early custom or in religious belief, rather than in purely political aims.

The theocratic nature of the government of Sumerian cities is not an isolated phenomenon. It can be clearly traced in all the city states and national confederacies of Western Asia, and is perceptible in the earliest forms of government in Europe. A direct consequence of this close relationship of god and ruler has been preserved, fossilised as it were, in ritual practices in most diverse lands, among different peoples, of different ages. These practices, assembled and examined by Sir J. G. Frazer in "The Golden Bough," seem to rest upon a common belief, in itself a human necessity; the god must be represented by the strongest, his senile and weakened representative must make way, generally by death, for the newly chosen. In a primitive state of civilisation divinity hedged the king only so long as he was able to prove his personal supremacy; the proof that his might had failed abolished his right. Another feature of these ritual practices which probably preserves the memory of early times is in their periodic nature. In some cases, the king or priest concerned must be prepared to defend his title at any time, on any occasion; but in some cases there is reason to believe that the test was made at regularly recurring intervals. It should also be remembered that the institution of a divinely chosen governor whose rule depends upon his personal superiority is not natural to those peoples whose organisation is tribal. The tribe, being the family enlarged, at least in theory, is based upon the perpetual autocratic power of its head or senior member, generally by birth in the direct line. The community which consists of elements from widely different sources, and is an artificial rather than natural unity that has arisen from the accident of place and time, has necessarily in primitive civilisations to secure a fitting head by artificial, or rather magical, means. Such a community the early Assyrians may well have formed; such communities the Sumerian city states were. In both communities the periodical tenure of a particular office is marked.

Little is known about the periodic office in question among the Sumerians. From the earliest time down

to the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur there appears a phrase on many business documents which has not yet been properly explained. It consists of the Sumerian word *bal* followed by a proper name. It is very generally agreed that this refers to the holding of an office for a certain period by an individual; but the nature of the office and its exact duration are unknown. Certainly the period was short, not, as has been suggested in some quarters, a year; the Sumerian practice was not therefore the original of the Assyrian practice, as has been erroneously supposed. The period of the *bal* did not moreover coincide with the month. Obscure as this matter of the *bal* remains, it is clear that it is a custom which originated in Sumer at a time we must account pre-historic; it is just, therefore, to assume that it may belong to some very primitive custom such as has been outlined above, dating to a stage of civilisation far earlier than that of the earliest historic remains known. Though not the origin of the Assyrian *limmu* system, the Sumerian *bal* is very probably similar to it in origin and intention.

The *limmu*, as has already been explained, was an official who conducted certain religious ceremonies, and was chosen for that office by some form of drawing lots. The intention of the ceremony of lot-drawing is evident; the will of the communal god, or perhaps of the gods in council, was thus secured. This lot-drawing at the New Year Festival among the Assyrians marks an important distinction between Assyrian and Babylonian practice. At Babylon, according to the later ritual,[9] the kingship became vacant at every New Year Festival; in token of this, when the king presented himself at the temple of Bel-Marduk on the evening of the fifth day, his insignia were removed from him by the chief priest and laid before the god. The king, now become a candidate for the favour of his god, on being led into the sanctuary recited a series of formulae denying the commission of any civil or ritual crimes in his kingly capacity during the previous year; and was then submitted to a test designed to prove that he enjoyed the favour of the god. After reciting instructions to the king for his

future conduct, the high priest, while returning to the king his insignia, struck him on the cheek. If tears appeared, then Bel would favour the king, otherwise disaster was portended. The essential part of this ceremony is in the stroke from the hand of the priest, representing the god; and the formulae used by early kings of Semitic speech in Babylonia prove that this was derived from very early custom. Kings of the second half of the third millennium continually referred to themselves as "touched by the hand" of a god, meaning thereby that they had been appointed by the favour of their city-god, had duly passed through the ceremony described in the late ritual. Amongst the Akkadians, then, the stroke of the hand played the part which must be assigned to the drawing of lots among the Assyrians. The stage of civilisation represented is once again the same; but it is clear that the ritual practices were independent, not derived from one another.

While on the one hand the office of *limmu* has been compared, in its periodic aspect, to a periodic office among the Sumerians, on the other hand the rite by which the *limmu* was chosen has been compared with that which accompanied the yearly installation of the king amongst the Akkadians. It will later be found that certain communities which were in close touch with the Assyrians, and nearly related to them, also had the yearly *limmu*, but no king, and apparently recognised no king. It is therefore a legitimate suggestion that, at a pre-historic period, there was a yearly leadership over the Akkadians and the Assyrians; that among the Akkadians this yearly leadership came to be held continually by one and the same person, the king, whilst among the Assyrians the yearly leadership became degraded into a subordinate, ceremonial office, when the institution of the kingship had been established. Developments of this kind from similar origins could be amply illustrated in other quarters; the difference between the history of this institution amongst the two peoples may well arise from the different circumstances surrounding the rise of the kingship.

However much or little probability these speculations may be thought to have, the office of *limmu* is our most valuable guide to the nature of the early Assyrian community. It marks that community as settled, of mixed origin, not tribal in character. Had we any certain knowledge as to the introduction of kingship amongst the Assyrians it would be possible to say more about the character of their civilisation. It may be that no Assyrian king existed until the Assyrian people came into close contact with Sumerian civilisation. For though the Sumerians were unable to conceive of a time when the kingship did not exist among them, as their tradition of the pre-diluvian monarchs shows, yet they were acutely aware of the kingless state of some of their neighbours. The Gutii had no king until they had asserted their supremacy over Sumer and Akkad by arms; then the new conditions which resulted forced the hillmen to adopt the strange institution. A similar set of circumstances may have led to similar results in the case of the Assyrians, but speculation on the point is idle.

There is one further line of inquiry from which information as to the civilisation of the earliest Assyrian community may be drawn, the study of religion. That study is beset with innumerable difficulties. It is, inevitably, based upon late texts, belonging to a period when the Assyrians were as completely under the influence of Babylonia as the Romans came to be under that of Greece. For the early centuries of Assyrian history the evidence is afforded almost entirely by the proper names of individuals; and this evidence, though of importance, will rarely bear the weight of the theories based upon it. Beyond affording a summary list of the deities popularly worshipped, evidence of this kind can rarely be pressed. Before we can assume that any religious belief or practice belonged to the period before 2500 among the Assyrians, it is necessary to show that the belief or practice in question was not Babylonian or Sumerian in origin, is primitive in character, and in keeping with the western origin and mixed racial character of the Assyrians. Now there is a ritual practice depicted

on the reliefs of Ashurnasirpal in the ninth century B.C. and obscurely mentioned in a message to the king of the seventh century, which does bear this character. It would appear from the combined evidence of these two sources that at the New Year Festival [10] in Assyria use was made of a bare tree-trunk, round which metal bands, called "yokes," were fastened, and fillets were attached. This is clearly magic of the type called "sympathetic"; the ritual act is intended to promote that revival of Nature in the New Year which is the most intense desire of primitive man. The primitive character of this ritual is evident. The fact that there is no trace of it in Sumerian or Babylonian religion in exactly this form is a strong presumptive ground for claiming it to be Assyrian. There is, above all, good reason for claiming that this ritual came with the early Assyrians from the west, because a very similar set of practices obtained in Syria and Palestine in connection with the bare pole called *asherah*.[10] There is evidence that apart from the important part this bedecked Maypole played in the New Year Festival of the Assyrians, the bare pole itself was the object of ritual practices at other times, just as was the case in Syria and Palestine. There is considerable reason for believing that this ritual importance of a tree or tree-trunk was a feature of the religion of all the peoples in the eastern Mediterranean, for in Crete, in Asia Minor, and in Egypt similar ceremonies may be observed. An interesting bas-relief of the early Assyrian period seems to represent Ashur as a tree-god (Fig. 10).

The mention of Egypt in this connection raises a point of considerable interest which cannot be burked. The particular form of tree-trunk which is of importance in the religion of Egypt is that called *ded* or *ṭeṭ*. Its form is peculiar, since at the top there are four or more spreading lines, which seem to be intended to represent branches. Below these branches there are generally represented bands, which are in intention very possibly the counterpart of the metal bands on the Assyrian sacred tree. Now this *ṭeṭ* column is connected with the worship of Osiris, the dead god

who came to life, by reason of the efforts of his sister-wife Isis and his son Horus, aided by Thoth and others. In Assyria the sacred tree, ornamented as described above, was associated with the god Ashur,

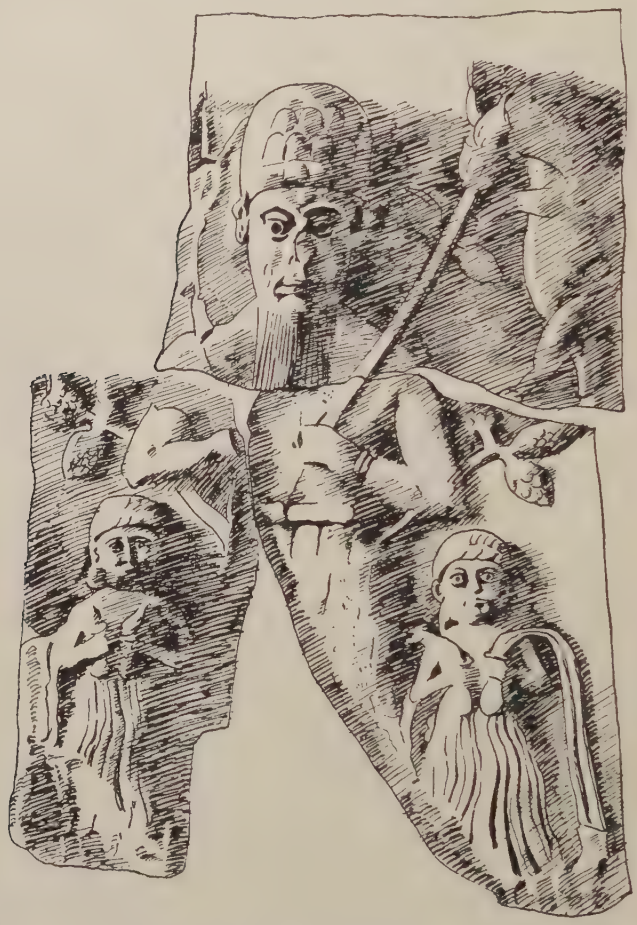


Fig. 10.

Early Assyrian bas-relief, possibly representing Ashur as a tree-god. Two attendant figures bear in their hands pots with flowing water, to represent the fertilising power of the two rivers. (After Contenau, *Les Tablettes de Kerkouk et les Origines de la Civilisation Assyrienne* (plate X.) See p. 123.

whose symbol, the winged disc of the sun in which the god himself sits, is constantly shown over the tree. Now Ashur was probably one of the very many gods who was believed to die and to come to life at the

New Year. In later times he was so close a counterpart of Marduk that the Creation Epic, a poem recited at Babylon in honour of that god every New Year, was adopted by the Assyrians for their national god, with hardly any other change than the alteration of the name of Marduk to Ashur. The legend of Marduk included a whole cycle of events not related in the Creation Epic, but that cycle is only known in part; yet the most important details concerning the death and resurrection of the god show that a parallelism can be established between the story of Marduk, also called Asari, and Osiris.[11] The features of the problem then are, that the *ded* or *ṭeṭ* column sacred to Osiris closely resembles the ornamented tree sacred to Ashur; and that the myth of Osiris so far as the incidents of the death and resurrection are concerned, is parallel to the myth of Marduk or Asari, who is equated in the late period to Ashur. If myth and ritual in this particular coincided in Egypt and Assyria, there is a *prima facie* case for assuming that a common origin must be sought for both myth and ritual in the two countries.

The matter will bear closer examination than this. If the *ṭeṭ* of Egypt and the ornamented tree of Assyria have a common original, there should be traces of that original, and this may actually be found on a cylinder seal of the second half of the second millennium.[11] There appears upon this seal a rough drawing of a *ṭeṭ* column, in the same position as bare poles, trees, and other sacred symbols appear on other seals (Plate VII, *c*). It would be easy to exaggerate the importance of a single seal; but it is clear that the bare trunk might in Assyria take a form so like the *ṭeṭ* that it could be represented as a form indistinguishable from a *ṭeṭ*. This evidence supports the case for assuming a connection between Egypt and Assyria in this respect.

With regard to the myth of Marduk or Asari, there are some who claim that this myth originally belonged to another god, and is based upon an early Sumerian original. Different authorities have argued that the story was originally told of Enlil or Enurta,[11] and believe the episodes connected with the death and

resurrection amount simply to another version of the Tammuz story. This latter conception is so illogical that it merits little attention. The Marduk and the Tammuz myths have nothing in common beyond their spirit and significance, and that significance is based on magic. The difference between the two was so clear to the Babylonians that Tammuz actually became one of the minor deities worshipped at Babylon as belonging to the circle of such beings attendant on Marduk. As to the argument which would identify the original divine hero of the myth as another god, and regard the earliest form of the myth as of Sumerian origin, this does not immediately affect the consideration of the present issue, the relation of Marduk, Ashur, and Osiris; but it may be stated here that there are reasons for believing that this argument is in reality based upon insufficient knowledge of the Marduk myth. The gods Enlil and Enurta played parts in the full story of Marduk which sufficiently account for references thought by some to show that they originally occupied the position of the hero-god.

The weak link in the evidence for considering that Marduk, Ashur, and Osiris arose from a common origin is in the assumption that the appropriation of the Babylonian Creation Epic by the Assyrians of the late period was something more than a literary theft. The assumption, it is true, is reasonable. Nearly all the great local gods of Babylonia, of Syria, of Palestine suffered death and rose again, and therefore it is inherently probable that Ashur so died and rose, long before the time when the literary expression of the story was borrowed from Babylon. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the very fact that the story could be so borrowed points to the essential similarity of the two gods; otherwise the adaptation could scarcely have been effected, and even if effected, could hardly have become general. But an assumption of this kind is too important to pass over lightly, and until there is material that will definitely prove or disprove the assumption, nothing further can be said, save in one respect.

The complicated rites and beliefs of the Osirian

religion in Egypt are a tangled skein of many different elements. Clearly to distinguish all those elements is now probably beyond the power of man. For the greater part there is no reason to assume that they are other than purely Egyptian, both in origin and in development. But modern scholarship has discerned reason for believing that Osiris as a god came into Egypt from elsewhere, since it can be proved that he succeeded in the cult at Busiris a local god Anzety, whose attributes he in part assumed.[12] The myth of Osiris also, in Plutarch's version, brings the dead body of Osiris to Byblos, a feature of the story which may be explained by the Syrian connections of the god. But even should it be proved that Osiris, Marduk, and Ashur are but individual manifestations of a god who was closely connected with the cult practices around a sacred tree-trunk or pole, there is no reason to suppose that otherwise these gods in later times were connected in any way. The accretions of different local beliefs, the theologising of different nationalities, rapidly turned these gods into deities typical of the diverse peoples by whom they were worshipped. It is improbable that, even if the rites of Osiris and of Ashur were in certain special points similar to one another, priests of those gods would have been ready to admit the resemblance in the seventh century B.C.

There has been amongst certain scholars an unwillingness to admit even the possibility of a connection between Assyrian and Egyptian beliefs of the kind outlined above. The effort to avoid this admission has led to strange juggling with a collateral piece of evidence. The symbol of Ashur, regularly carried by the Assyrian king in his war-chariot, is the winged sun-disc, in which is inserted the figure of the god himself. This winged sun-disc, without the inserted figure, though it does not occur in Sumer and Akkad, is very common on Syrian and Palestinian seals, and is unquestionably borrowed from the Egyptian sun-disc, which was from the earliest times represented as so winged. The attempt to avoid the implication inherent in this symbol has led to various explanations that are no better than subterfuges. It is better frankly to admit

the possibility, even the probability, of a dependence in very early times of elements of the worship of Ashur on Egyptian belief, or on some intermediate connection of the two. If the Osiris column and the sun-disc of Ra were combined in the worship of a single god, that is an argument for this borrowing having taken place at a very early period—a period earlier than even the Pyramid texts, in which the individual characters of the two gods had not yet been sharply defined.

As regards the religion of the early Assyrians, then, there is evidence that apart from the native element there were borrowings from other sources. This conclusion is sufficient to warn the historian to beware of speaking of the early Assyrians as a primitive people. Their social institutions and religious customs retained much that was distinct from the great civilisations of Sumer and Egypt; but owing to circumstances of which we have at present no indication, the Assyrians before they entered the Tigris valley had been under some foreign influence.

CHAPTER IX

THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR

THE history of the city of Ashur from the time of the sack may be roughly divined from the long discussion of origins, sources, and problems which has preceded. After the capture of the town by men of a mixed race and a mixed civilisation, known to subsequent history as Assyrians, there was a breach in the continuity of civilisation in the city. But the conquerors had to hold more than it proved in their ability to do; they fell before the attacks of Sargon. The dominance asserted by him was reaffirmed by Naram-Sin. Thereafter doubtless the city remained free for a time from direct interference from either Babylonia or Gutium; but the single magnificent statue which was found there belonging to the time of the Gutian disorders is sufficient proof that the city did not permanently remain outside the range of Babylonian influence.

The end of the dynasty of Gutium was brought about by the activities of Utu-ḫegal of Erech, but the fruits of victory fell not to Erech but to Ur. Ur-Nammu, who was at first the local "tenant farmer" of Ur, and recognised Utu-ḫegal as his suzerain, subsequently revolted and established an independent line of kings which ruled without a rival for over a century, not only in Babylonia, but over most of the region which had once acknowledged Sargon or Naram-Sin as lord. There is reason to believe, from the extent of the rule of these kings, the commercial activity to which the business documents of the period bear testimony, and the broken remnants of the material civilisation unearthed by excavations, that this was the most brilliant epoch of Babylonian

civilisation. From Arbela to the Persian Gulf, from Susa most probably to the Lebanon, the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur held sway. Throughout these realms they imposed a uniform administration, and made their city Ur the centre of a unified Empire, as closely knit together as these lands could well be. Yet all our knowledge of this period is derivative; every statement depends upon a deduction, however certain, from the evidence. It is either a curious accident that no inscription of the kings of Ur describes their great exploits, or their scribes were never engaged in writing historical accounts of the reigns. Whatever the cause may be, this period, in which the fully developed Sumerian civilisation of the south imposed its predominant characteristics once and for all on Assyria, the lands of the Euphrates valley, and Syria, remains largely a matter for speculation, because the great mass of evidence is indirect.

The proof of the domination of the Third Dynasty of Ur over Assyria was found in the temple of Ishtar in the city of Ashur, where the proof of an early Sumerian civilisation also was discovered. Over the scant remains of the buildings which belong to the people who sacked the city, at a higher level, there are considerable remains of the buildings of a new age. There is no sign that the earlier structure was in this case burnt or sacked; it would rather seem that the older building, having fallen into disrepair, was systematically levelled and a new platform prepared for a temple to the goddess according to a taste which differed from that of the invaders. How this change of taste arose it is not difficult to imagine. That the Assyrians were considerably influenced by the southern civilisation has already been inferred from the statue found at the earlier level; that the new temple was built while the Assyrians were actually subject to the southern land is clear from an inscription on a curious stone object, the shape of which betrays the influence of the south. From the time of Ur-Nina down to the period of the Dynasty of Akkad there were made in Sumer rectangular stone objects, surrounded by a projecting frame, in the centre of

which is a small round or square hole.[1] Inside this frame an inscription was written, and often figures were carved in relief on the stone. Though the stone block looks like a lid of some kind, it appears that some object must have been set in the hole, and these objects almost certainly had some special intention, and were appropriate in temples. On such a stone block found, it is true, built into the floor of a much later structure, is the inscription of Zariqu.[2] "The temple of Belti-ekallim, his lady, for the life of Pur-Sin, the mighty, the king of Ur, the king of the four quarters, Zariqu, the *šakkanaku* of the city of Ashur, his servant, built, to preserve his life." The small finds made in the level of the first rebuilding of the temple date it with certainty to the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur, and this inscription belongs to a city governor contemporary with that rebuilding.

The inscription of Zariqu testifies to his subservience to the third king of the Ur dynasty; his complete dependence is proved by an entry in a small temple docket from the ancient site now called Duraihim, near Nippur, whither the king had presumably summoned him. The docket records the issue of certain animals as rations to Zariqu, the *iššaku* of the city A-usar, that is, the city of Ashur, and to another *iššaku;* it is dated in the last year but one of Shulgi.[3] Hence the dominance of the Ur dynasty commenced before the time of Pur-Sin. A small stone object bearing an inscription of Shulgi was obtained from the same city, and there is no doubt that the city governors of Ashur were first compelled to admit the rule of Ur in the time of that king.

Though these facts are clearly established it is impossible to be certain about the circumstances of the city's submission. The only historical record of the Ur dynasty consists of the lists of years, which are described, according to the Sumerian custom, by some important event.[4] Many of these names are concerned with the erection of temples, or with the installation of priests; but it would be rash to

conclude from this that no campaigns were undertaken in those years. The record is therefore very incomplete. No mention is made of any war with the land of Assyria, or of any sack of the city; and the excavations have revealed the fact that no sack took place, as has been seen. It is therefore impossible to decide the means by which Shulgi imposed his authority on the city of Ashur, but a *terminus ante quem* may be fixed for that event.

The extent of the dominion of Ur-Nammu, the founder of the dynasty, is not yet fully ascertained. The only entry of a military character in the year-dates* belonging to his reign is so vague as to give rise to the belief that, so far as the north was concerned, he can at most have marched across the plains without attacking any city or fortified position; "the year when Ur-Nammu, the king, directed his steps from the lower (land) to the upper (land)" may indeed mean only that he marched to the Lebanon, and did not invade the north at all. But Shulgi was continually occupied with the districts east of Tigris. In his seventh year he installed the god KA·DI[5] in a temple at Der, in his eighth year another deity was installed in the district of Kazallu, which adjoined the Tigris. In the twenty-second year a series of campaigns commenced against the peoples of the eastern hills. Ganḫar was devastated twice (22nd and 29th years), Simurru[5] and the adjoining Lullubu nine times (between the 23rd and 42nd years), Shashru once (in the 40th year). These brief statements of the results of certain campaigns do not allow of an exact view of the enterprises of Shulgi, but it is sufficiently clear that by his forty-second year the eastern bank of the Tigris from below Baghdad to very near the city of Ashur was occupied by his troops. Then in the forty-third year the district of Urbillum

* It is difficult to see how a year can have been named after an event which took place in it, from the beginning of the year onwards, as seems to have been the case. It has therefore with reason been supposed that the event actually took place in the previous year; but in the following pages the year given is that to which the date-lists assign the event, and if the hypothesis be correct, a year one earlier is that of the historical event.

was devastated. It is generally recognised as probable, though it is not yet capable of rigid proof, that Urbillum denotes the town and surrounding plain of Arbela, which, if the deductions outlined in the previous chapter are correct, was still occupied by the Subaraeans, and had not yet been conquered by the Assyrians. Shulgi's campaign against Urbillum would have been impossible, or rather so dangerous as to invite complete disaster, were the ruler or inhabitants of the city of Ashur hostile. It is necessary to assume, therefore, that there was no danger from that quarter in the forty-third year of Shulgi; the subservience of the Assyrians to that king must therefore have dated from that year, or before it.

The site of Arbela has been inhabited continuously from a period we cannot guess until the present day, and this fact is reflected in the name. Urbillum, the form in which it was known to the scribes of the Third Dynasty of Ur, probably reflects with fair accuracy the manner in which the name was pronounced by the inhabitants at that time. The Assyrian scribes, misled apparently by a desire to find in the name some meaning intelligible in their own language, wrote the name as Arba-ilu, "four-god," a barbaric and really meaningless etymology; the Greeks, who plundered the town after Alexander's victory over Darius Codomannus, knew the name in the form Arbela, which has since been Arabicised as Irbil. Very few sites in the river valleys and Syria can be said to have such a long continuous history; Erech, Aleppo, Nisibis, and Beyrouth are the most important cities to share the distinction with Arbela, and it is not unnatural to find that the site at Arbela has much in common with that at Aleppo, for both cities stand on a rock which dominates the surrounding plain. The natural defensive position is in both cases so strong that, whatever the fortunes of the inhabitants have been in the wars that have frequently devastated the countryside, the position itself was never abandoned. Whether the name belongs to the Subaraean language, or derives from the tongue of some still earlier people, is at present

unknown; but the form used by the Sumerian scribes is good evidence that, when Shulgi plundered the district, no Semitic language was spoken there. In the late Assyrian period Arbela was particularly associated with the worship of a special form of Ishtar there, always carefully distinguished from the Ishtar of Nineveh and the Ishtar of Ashur. In what precise details the peculiar character of this goddess consisted it is now impossible to say; her famous oracle, which had a great reputation with the Sargonids of the seventh century, was doubtless a very ancient institution, and may well have been the seat of practices not yet certainly known to have existed in Babylonia in Shulgi's time.

The plundering of the district of Arbela doubtless signified a hard struggle with, and a considerable victory over, the people of the plain. Though Arbela is, from its position, the most important fenced city in that plain, other similar cities not far from it must have shared its fate, for Shulgi's army would certainly march to the Zāb, and most probably to the eastern bank of the Tigris. Whether Nineveh fell there is nothing to show; but it may safely be assumed that the great city, known in Sennacherib's time as Alshe,[6] which stood on the hill now called Shemāmokh, halfway between the Zāb and Arbela, as well as another city (Plate XXIII, *c*) famous in later Assyrian history, Kakzi,[6] had to admit Shulgi's troops. The reason for this supposition is to be found in the later names of the most important places in this plain; they are not Assyrian, and clearly date back to a period prior to that when the people had adopted Semitic speech.

It would be interesting to know whether the plain of Arbela became a regular province of Shulgi's empire. If it were the king's intention so to include it, defensive operations would be necessary in two directions, towards the modern Keui Sanjak in the east, and Rowanduz in the north-east. Shulgi's army did in fact attack a new district, Kimash, in the forty-fourth and forty-fifth years,[7] and Ḫurshi was dealt with for the third time in the forty-sixth; but the location of these districts is at present extremely doubtful,

though they may have been situated in the hills north and east of Kirkūk. Even if the original intention of the king was to annex the rich settled plain to his dominions, he did not live long enough after his conquest to secure his aim ; and his son Pur-Sin must have suffered a considerable set-back, for in his sixth year he was once again fighting in Shashru, much farther south. Gimil-Sin and Ibi-Sin, the last two kings of the dynasty, reigned over far more restricted areas east of Tigris than their predecessors, owing to the renewed activities of Elam ; and it is improbable that the plain of Arbela was subject to them.

Scanty as the information provided by the date-list is, the important fact emerges that in the time of Shulgi and Pur-Sin the land of Assyria was still divided ; the plain of Arbela, stretching across to Nineveh and perhaps including that city, remained distinct from the land of Ashur, which is not mentioned in connection with it. The southern half, of which alone excavations afford some knowledge in the early period, was completely under the dominion of Ur, and in the city of Ashur there is to be found some proof of the importance of this period in the history of the north.

The only specimens of the art of the seal-cutter of this period at Ashur are a few impressions on clay jar-sealings and the like. They represent an art indistinguishable from that of the south, and were probably taken from seals actually brought to the city from Babylonia. More importance attaches to some terracotta figurines which represent a human figure, bearded, carrying a scimitar-shaped weapon and some other object. Most of these figurines, which unquestionably represent a god, are not distinguishable from figurines of the same period which have been found at Ur.[8] The attitude of the deity, and the objects he carries, have a superficial resemblance to the usual method of depicting Osiris in Egypt, and it is noticeable that in one case, from Ur, the god is actually carrying the so-called whip or flail (Fig. 11), which may have been an imitation of the *ladanisterium* used in the Lebanon district for collecting *ladanum*.[8] On

this superficial resemblance it would be idle to speculate; it is equally idle to deny that it exists. An even more interesting feature is preserved by a few of these figurines; in these, the god is represented as two-headed. In the Babylonian pantheon the only great god to whom this peculiarity was certainly attributed is Marduk. The assertion that Enurta also was two-headed rests upon a passage which is not sufficiently clear in its expression to prove this.[9] Now when the Assyrians adopted and adapted the "Creation Epic," Ashur, taking Marduk's place, was also described

Fig. 11.

Terracotta plaque representing a god carrying an object resembling the *ladanisterium* of Osiris. (From the original, B.M. No. 116519.) See p. 135.

as two-headed. But these two-headed figurines from the city of Ashur, which have been reasonably supposed to represent the god Ashur, prove that the conception of the two-headed deity in Assyria was as early as the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur. This is but one more proof of the fact that Marduk and Ashur were, from the earliest times, parallel figures, two forms of a nature god who gave birth to them both.

A fragment of a stone statue does not suffice to distinguish the art of this period from that which immediately preceded it; but among the metal remains there were several objects of a quite distinctive,

a

b

PLATE X

TO ILLUSTRATE THE SCULPTURE OF THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR PERIOD.

a. DIORITE HEAD OF A LADY, FROM UR. B.M. No. 118,564.
b. LIMESTONE HEAD OF A STATUETTE OF A LADY; THE EYES ARE INLAID, OF *TRIDACNA SQUAMOSA* SHELL AND LAPIS LAZULI. FROM UR. In Philadelphia. (After Woolley in *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. VI, Plate LXII.)

and at present uncertain character. Of these the most important is a small standing figure of a woman, which decorated the end of a larger object. This figure is probably cast, and the oxidisation of the copper has destroyed the original delicacy of the modelling; even so this small object shows, as does the stone fragment, that the very considerable artistic ability of the southern stonemasons and metal smiths of the Gudea and Third Ur periods in Babylonia was represented by some worthy examples in the northern city. It is important to remember the excellence of this art, mainly displayed in executing figures in the round, which cannot have failed to have had an effect on subsequent artistic development, in considering later work. A small triangular piece of silver, with an illegible inscription on the back, and a small disc of silver with a similarly illegible inscription, are at once enigmatical, since their use is unknown, and interesting; similar metal objects are known from a much later period, and they will be discussed in a later section. The information to be derived from a copper dagger is more precise, since it is the first recorded specimen of a type of dagger which depends, not upon the cut or thrust, but on the slit; the curved blade is sharpened on the outer edge. This dagger is clearly distinct from the weapons used in Babylonia, the two-edged round-pointed sword, appropriate only for the cut, the sharp-pointed dagger, suitable for the thrust, and the curved scimitar, almost resembling a scythe, which requires a slashing stroke, since it is sharpened on the inside. But in later times the curved dagger, very closely resembling a modern *ḫanjar*, gave rise to a particular type of sword, that known in Egypt as the *ḫepesh*, and associated with the Hyksos, but of which the finest example extant is the sword of Adad-nirari I[10] (Fig 12). A very curious form of this type of dagger has been found in Palestine.

The general impression derived from the remains of the city during this period is, then, that of a people not merely tributary to the southern power, but completely under the influence of the civilisation of

FIG. 12.
The sword of Adad-nirari I, king of Assyria. (After Boscawen, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. IV, facing p. 347.) See p. 137.

the southern land. In this respect, the evidence of the material remains is supported by some records of this period, which concern other rulers than Zariqu. There is a short votive inscription of a certain Ititi, the son of Iakulaba, who must have been a city governor of about this period, to judge from the epigraphy; though the inscription is in Assyrian, Sumerian words are used as ideograms in the customary manner of the most accomplished cuneiform scribes of Babylonia. The inscription records the dedication of an object similar to that bearing the inscription of Zariqu "out of the booty of the district GA·SAG." Since the reading and name of this district are unknown, a valuable historical fact which awaits precise interpretation is to be found in this inscription.

Shalmaneser I and Esarhaddon relate that the great temple of the god Ashur called E·ḪURSAG·KURKURRA was founded by Ushpia (or Aushpia), whom they call "an ancestor." The city walls, according to a statement of Ashur-rim-nisheshu, were first built by Kikia. These statements imply that Kikia and Ushpia were the oldest city governors known in later times, probably owing to the fact

that their foundation inscriptions were found during the preliminary destruction necessary before restoration; and it is probable that both of them precede the governor, Zariqu, appointed by Shulgi at the end of his reign. But if Ushpia, when he founded the temple of his god, called it by the Sumerian name it is always subsequently given, then it is most probable that he did so as a vassal of the kings of Ur. In any case, the history of the site of Ashur proves that the foundation of the temple referred to cannot be much before the time of Zariqu, since in the period immediately preceding his the extant building on the site of the Ishtar temple is entirely different in character from those that follow; the temples of Ashur and of Ishtar must have had much the same history. It is therefore safe to assign the activities of Ushpia, Kikia, and Ititi to the period under consideration.

Around these names, linguistic speculation has built a considerable theory. On the ground that several names of "Mitannian" origin—that is, belonging to the Subaraean-speaking people—end in *-ia*, it has been assumed that the names Ushpia and Kikia are "Mitannian," that is Subaraean, and that there was a "Mitannian" rule over the land of Assyria in their time. The theory is sufficiently condemned by its corollary, which is a complete inversion of history. Were the names Subaraean, then they might well be due to intermarriage, as the personal names of Subaraean origin in later times must have been; but, in fact, the names have not the peculiar features of the very distinctive Subaraean names, and the element *-ia* appears as a diminutive of affection in the most diverse types of name. The probability that a name Kikiaenni may be Subaraean must not be allowed to decide the character of the name Kikia. It is always dangerous to base an historical theory upon proper names; it is in the present case impossible to do so, because there is no reliable evidence as to their origin. These very names, Ushpia and Kikia, are borne by persons who lived in or near Caesarea (Mazaca), and it is quite possible that they belong to

the non-Semitic people which formed a considerable element of the early Assyrian stock.

There is at present no means of fixing the chronological order of these three rulers, or of relating them to Zariqu. There is perhaps a reasonable presumption that when the rebuilding of the city was undertaken in this period, the first task would be the founding of the city-wall; Kikia may then be the earliest of the four, and Ushpia most probably preceded Zariqu, since the founder of the temple of Ashur is likely to be older than the governor who found the temple of Ishtar already standing. But the chronology of these city rulers is actually of little importance; the interest of the time is, that the southern half of the land of Ashur at least, and perhaps for a time the northern half also, were part of an empire which spread over its broad domains a general level of culture the influence of which is betrayed in later times.

During the period described as Early Sumerian it has been seen that the river valleys were the centre of a very wide-spread trade, which extended from India to Egypt. The civilisation which accordingly developed was luxurious, and even extravagant, in the use of metal and other costly material. At the time of the dynasty of Agade it is clear that a considerable decline in the possibility of free movement had limited trade to a great extent. From Sargon onwards, the rulers of the southern country were constantly engaged in a struggle, more especially in the eastern hills, to repress the numerous tribes and peoples which threatened the main roads. These facts prove that there was a change in conditions. When man first came into the river valleys, and for many centuries after, he used the old routes for trade purposes, and communication was free over wide areas; then came the stage when long settlement under various geographical conditions led to the bitter opposition of one kind of man to another, of one community to the next. This rivalry is by no means due to race or language; it is hardly even a question of economic pressure, since the mountaineers, for instance, fought

rather against the passage of any trade at all than in order to obtain booty. This gradual sealing up of the inlets is in fact reflected very faithfully in the legend of Sargon, as regards the north-west. The traders from Burušḫanda who appealed for Sargon's assistance were suffering from exactly this same phenomenon that we have noted in the east; local powers prevented trade, ruined the trader, and tended to become isolated units in a way that continually called for Babylonian interference. But spasmodic interference, even the exaction of tribute, was not sufficient to deal with the circumstances; and the effort to maintain an empire exhausted the power of Akkad for many centuries.

The Third Dynasty of Ur were the heirs of this struggle; the aims, and in many respects the methods, of Shulgi were identical with those of Sargon and Naram-Sin. It has been customary to regard Babylonian history during the second half of the third millennium from too intensely a local point of view; and hence it has been the custom to speak of the Third Ur Dynasty as a Sumerian revival. There is a certain truth in this view, but it is an accidental rather than an inherent truth. The movement started by Utu-ḫegal at Erech and continued by Ur-Nammu and his successors at Ur was not a reaction of the south against the north so much as a reaction of Babylonia against the control of the great caravan routes by foreigners. There does not seem to have been any conscious opposition between Sumer and Akkad at this time; indeed a marked characteristic of the period is the gradual increase of Amorite names among the inhabitants of the great Sumerian cities. The increase of the non-Sumerian, Semitic-speaking racial type is even to be found represented pictorially. On two objects from Lagash, one a small base for a figure of unknown date, the other the base of a statue of Ur-Ningirsu, there are represented small bearded men who are exactly similar in appearance and dress to men represented on the stele of Ur-Nammu.[11] In at least two cases the men are engaged in menial duties; on the base of Ur-Ningirsu's statue

they are carrying baskets of offerings (Fig. 13), on Ur-Nammu's stele they are milking cows (Fig. 14). It has been suggested in the case of the statues from Lagash that foreigners are intended; but the evidence of the Ur-Nammu stele precludes this interpretation. But a further step can be taken; it is impossible to distinguish these men on the early statues from the Chaldaeans, as represented in the eighth and seventh centuries, save in so far as the simple loin-cloth and long head-kerchief of the early figures are replaced by the flowing garments of a wealthier time. It is

FIG. 13.

Front and back of the base of a statuette of Ur-Ningirsu, representing basket-carriers with offerings. (After Thureau-Dangin, *Statuettes de Tello*, *Monuments et Mémoires Piot*, XXVII, planche X.) See p. 142.

impossible to avoid the conclusion that these figures depict the Semitic-speaking, non-Sumerian element, which was occupied in menial occupations in Sumer as it had once been so occupied in Akkad, but was rapidly increasing in numbers. The royal family itself seems to have made no effort to resist the rising power of these people, who are designated Amorites in documents of the period; the third and the last kings of the dynasty, Pur-Sin and Ibi-Sin, certainly bore Semitic names,[12] and it is not impossible that the fourth king also did so. It would seem

therefore that exactly the same process was gradually transforming Sumer in the twenty-fourth and twenty-third centuries as transformed Akkad in the period before the dynasty of Akshak. The Third Dynasty of Ur indeed probably owed its exceptional military strength to the fact that it was reinforced by the men of Akkad, who were unable to find a rallying point in the north from which to resist the eastern hill folk.

The dynasty did therefore in a manner represent the interests of all Babylonia, not merely of the old Sumerian south. But there is some truth in the view

FIG. 14.

Fragment of the stele of Ur-Nammu, showing menial milking a cow. (After F. G. Newton, *The Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. VI, Plate XXXIII.) See p. 142.

which treats the period as one of Sumerian revival; the historical result of the supremacy of the south in the leadership against the common enemy was, that Babylonian civilisation as a whole retained, to a far greater extent than seemed probable at the time of the Agade dynasty, the impress of Sumerian influence. Further, this influence made itself more widely felt than it would otherwise have done. There is in later periods evidence that in art, in commerce, and even in legal arrangements Syria and Asia Minor adopted and adapted various features of Sumerian civilisation, and the period in which these adaptations

took place can only be that of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Of the general process, the city of Ashur may be said to supply the special example. Ruled by governors who admitted the political suzerainty of Ur, the material remains show the complete dependence of the inhabitants of the place on the south, albeit there are differences which mark the racial distinction. The type of sacred building, the dress, the writing of the Assyrians of this period are borrowed from Sumer.

It must not be supposed that, because the fashion in dress is said to be derived from Sumer, it is thereby asserted that the origin of the style of dress in question was the southern land; the point is, that during the rule of the Ur-Nammu dynasty the fashion was set by the south. A curious but instructive example of this may be found in comparing the period with that of the Agade dynasty. During the Early Sumerian period, the curious dress, which has already been discussed, consisting either of dressed wool or leaves sewn on to cloth, persisted; but the immigrant Amorites appear to have been responsible for the introduction of another type of clothing, which depended upon a development in weaving wool, perhaps derived from the linen industry. The original home of this linen industry can be fixed with some confidence. The district of the Ḫabur has always been in historical times a centre of the important weaving industry in Western Asia.[13] But the actual modes illustrated on the artistic monuments of the Agade dynasty, despite its extensive empire, were not to our knowledge adopted elsewhere. Thus Naram-Sin is represented wearing a cloth with a rippled stripe in it; but on no other monument in Western Asia is this cloth represented, though Syrian weavers were still engaged in the curious and rather difficult process necessary so late as the days of Thothmes I and Hatshepsut.[13] The fashion of the Third Dynasty did not differ from that of the Sumerians during the period of the Gutium dynasty; men and women are represented wearing a rectangular piece of cloth in much the fashion in which the Romans wore the toga. This dress at the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur became universal

PLATE XI

ELAMITE SCULPTURE OF THE LATER PERIOD. A WOMAN SPINNING.
After Délég. en Perse, Mém. I, pl. xi.

throughout the civilised districts of Western Asia, so far as the evidence of seals may be depended upon; there are in fact documents which refer to the traffic in cloth[13] to prove that even Asia Minor about this time was mainly dependent upon the south. There is even the possibility that the short shirt worn under the cloak by the Greeks, the χιτών, was borrowed, name and thing, from the *kutanu*, the linen shirt in common use during the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur.

The kind of unity which Western Asia shows at this time is illustrated by the accident of dress; a more important and far-reaching effect of the rule of this dynasty may be found in the standardised character of commercial dealings throughout the wide area under consideration. It would appear that it was in this period that the various kinds of texts known to modern scholars as "contracts" first took the regular form which remained in use, with slight changes in the formulae, until the Macedonian conquest; and the customs concerning the sealing of cases for legally valid documents, and the writing of a copy of the document on the case are also first met at this time. There is some evidence that a law code was promulgated in the reigns of Ur-Nammu and his son Shulgi;[14] and it is almost certain that the regularisation of the form of legal documents was due to the administration of these two kings. It must be inferred, then, that where these customs were observed, they originally arose from the imposition of Sumerian law by Shulgi or his successors. Fortunately, in the case which is of importance for the history of Assyria, this inference is confirmed by epigraphical evidence and by the testimony of a seal impression, so that there can be no doubt that the authority of the Third Dynasty of Ur extended at one time as far as Caesarea (Mazaca) beyond the Taurus. This extension of Sumerian law does not necessarily imply a conquest, though it has been thought to do so; such a conquest may have taken place, but there is no positive evidence that it did so, and it is strange that there is no mention of such an event in any date formula. It is at present more

reasonable to suppose that the imposition of the new laws on Assyria and parts of Mesopotamia and Syria led to the adoption of similar practices in the distant north-west by merchants engaged in traffic which passed through territory subject to the kings of Ur. This view may be supported by the fact that it is clear that the practice of the law-courts in Syria and Asia Minor was not in detail the same as that of Babylonia. But this question is connected with a series of difficult problems raised by the discovery of tablets at Kul Tepe, a site near Caesarea (Mazaca) which must now be stated.

CHAPTER X

CAPPADOCIAN TRADE

ATTENTION was first called to tablets obtained from Kul Tepe [1] by Professor Pinches. Since the time of his discovery, an ever-increasing number of tablets have been obtained from native diggings, some part of which have been published. Of recent years a scientific expedition under Professor Hrozný has undertaken the excavation of the site. With increasing knowledge it can hardly be said there is increasing certainty; the elements in the problem are too complicated for that. The tablets in question are written in a cuneiform character which is identical with that used in the tablets of the Ur dynasty period, and are of three main kinds. The greater number are addressed to merchants and travelling traders by other merchants and traders, and contain the messages to be given by the one who is to read the tablet. Others are the daily records of business transacted. Still others are tablets dealing with evidence given and decisions delivered in the law courts, in cases concerned with commercial dealings. The personal names are of two main classes, which again fall into sections, the first those which are Semitic, the second those which are not Semitic. The Semitic names are particularly difficult to analyse into classes. A certain number are of a type which appear in Babylonia as early as the time of the dynasty of Agade, and may therefore be fairly described as Akkadian. A second section includes names commonly found in the business documents of Babylonia under the dynasties of Ur, Isin, and Larsa. A third is specifically Assyrian. A fourth, very small, section, may be most closely connected with the cities on the

west bank of the Euphrates between the mouth of the Ḫabur and the northern border of Babylonia, since the names are compounded with the element Dagan, the god worshipped specially in that district. To a fifth section may be allotted all names of such a common type that it is impossible to be certain that they belong to any one of the four sections already described. The great class of non-Semitic names it is at present impossible to analyse with certainty. One, Dudḫalia, is the name of a Hittite king at a much later period. Another, Uzbia, is unquestionably the same name as that of the early Assyrian *iššaku*, Ushpia. One large section of these names presents a common feature in the reduplication of a syllable: but it is quite uncertain to what language they should be assigned. A large number of the names may belong to still other languages or dialects, so far as our knowledge at present extends. When the additional fact that the fathers of men with Semitic names bore non-Semitic names, it will be seen that the conclusion to be drawn from the personal names is a very general one, namely, that the population consisted of very mixed elements, in which the prevalence of Assyrian, Babylonian, and Mesopotamian names seems to be due to the fact that the heads of the trading concerns were themselves from these lands and for the most part employed men of their own race. A very significant and interesting point is the complete absence of any name that can be called distinctively Subaraean.

The language in which the documents are composed is not classical Akkadian, if by that term is meant the Babylonian language as written during the Isin, Larsa, and First Babylonian dynasties, though it is closely related to it. In a great many of its phonetic peculiarities it is identical with Assyrian as it is preserved in the earlier inscriptions, and the Assyrian of the middle of the second millennium can in many cases be recognised as derived from the same or similar forms. There is, it is true, a considerable question to be considered in this matter, which may be here stated in general terms. The Sumerian

syllabary was not designed to express all the consonantal sounds of Semitic languages; and in Babylonia the process by which that syllabary was gradually altered and adapted until a more precise rendering of Semitic consonants was possible under the First Dynasty of Babylon than had been usual under the kings of Agade can be traced. Even under the First Dynasty, however, the rendering of consonants, more especially in business documents, is frequently defective. It is therefore generally believed that in classical Akkadian, for instance, the sign *bi*, which is commonly written where the later pronunciation used *pi*, was actually pronounced *pi*, not *bi*. Similarly some scholars assume that the phonetic peculiarities of the Cappadocian tablets, so far as consonants are concerned, are to be explained as idiosyncrasies of writing rather than of speech.[2] They allege, with some semblance of reason, that since in classical Akkadian the writing *u-si-zi-a* represents *ušeṣia*, the similar writing *u-si-zi-a* in the Cappadocian tablets must also be so explained. The objection to this view depends upon the fact that the use of the syllabary by the scribes of the Cappadocian tablets is distinct from that of the Babylonian scribes, and consistent. Not only is *bi* used for *pi*, but *ba* is consistently used for *pa*, a sign that the Cappadocian scribes never used, contrary to Babylonian practice. The particular signs which enabled the southern scribes to differentiate *qa* and *ka* from *ga* were not used by the scribes in Asia Minor phonetically, although the signs were known to them; and the sounds *t* and *d*, rarely confused in Akkadian, were consistently used as if equivalent in Asia Minor. Evidence of such consistent usage cannot be discarded, in the present writer's opinion, as due to peculiarities of writing. It proves, rather, that in the districts concerned a dialect of a Semitic speech akin to Akkadian was spoken, marked by the peculiarity common to the languages of Asia Minor, that the voiced and voiceless consonants were not distinguished. If it be added that, in addition to this feature, there is a marked avoidance of doubled consonants and a peculiar prolongation of certain vowel sounds, and

that these distinctive characteristics recur in part in the early inscriptions from the city of Ashur, the case for assuming that the language of the traders settled in the neighbourhood of Caesarea is more closely connected with that of the early Assyrians than with classical Akkadian is firmly based. Innumerable other points might be adduced, of an equally convincing but very specialised kind. The Akkadian word *itti* "with," appears in the Cappadocian and early Assyrian texts as *išti*, which in late Assyrian, by a change common in that dialect, became *issi* or *isi*. But it is needless to press this point further. Unfortunately, recognition of this fact has led to a premature conclusion, and the Cappadocian tablets are now frequently referred to as "Old Assyrian." The vocabulary used in the tablets is peculiar, since many words in them were not used in Assyrian, and there is no ground yet for assuming an absolute identity of the Cappadocian dialect and old Assyrian; they were closely related.

A more subtle argument has been advanced about the origin of this dialect. The existence of a class of names common in the period of the Agade dynasty in Babylonia and amongst the traders settled near Caesarea has already been noted. In the language also of the Agade period and of the Cappadocian and old Assyrian documents there are certain common features; in both the verb in dependent clauses is marked by an affixed *-ni*,[3] and certain verbal forms present common features as against the classical Akkadian. Those who believe that Assyria was a colony in Subaraean territory from Babylonia argue that this event took place at latest at the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur. But the manifold difficulties of such a supposition have been already examined, and the evidence of language does not really lend any support to the thesis. The facts may be briefly stated in this way: in grammar and in word forms there is a closer relation between Assyrian and the early Akkadian, while the classical Akkadian is clearly distinguished from the Assyrian. The language of the Cappadocian documents and early Assyrian

have certain very important phonetic peculiarities in common, the most marked being an indifference to *lenes* and *fortes*. Now this latter peculiarity so closely resembles the outstanding characteristic of early languages in Asia Minor that it is at least a possible speculation that the Assyrian type of speech arose because the Assyrians were not purely in origin a Semitic-speaking people. The similar peculiarity in the dialect used at Kirkuk is certainly to be so explained. The physical anthropologists have for a long time insisted that there must have been a considerable element of "Armenoids" in the Assyrian race, and this may be taken as some confirmation for this view. It remains to be seen whether the language of the Cappadocian documents and of the early Assyrians was precisely the same in every respect, and this cannot at present be done. From the nature of the case, the documents from Cappadocia employ a vocabulary markedly different from that of the royal inscriptions, the only specimens of early Assyrian extant. The fact that Assyrian documents dating from the second half of the second millennium do not show any close resemblance to the phraseology of the Cappadocian tablets is in part due to the difference in period and the conditions of life, yet it is a suspicious circumstance in view of the general conservatism of legal phraseology; it is best not to be hasty in accepting the description of this dialect in the Cappadocian texts as "Old Assyrian." It is certainly closely related to it, and may be identical with it; that is all that can be said.

There is further convincing evidence of the close connection of the traders in Cappadocia with early Assyria to be found in the dating of certain of these documents by the *limu*, an institution peculiar to the Assyrians, and in the month names. But even in these institutions there are certain peculiarities which demand a more careful examination than has been accorded by some interpreters. The men who held the *limu* office for the most part bear distinctively Assyrian names; but it has yet to be proved that they are not identical with men of the same name

engaged in the caravan traffic as travelling traders. It has been assumed [4] that the eponyms in the city of Ashur were also the eponyms in Cappadocia; but this is at present a baseless assumption and must not be allowed to influence the discussion. A peculiarity of the eponym system in Asia Minor, so far as our present knowledge goes, is that a distinction was made between two kinds of eponym. According to the one phrase, "The *limu* was X," the man named was *limu* in the same sense as the Assyrian official; but in the other phrase, "The *limu* of the hand of X," the man named would appear to be the executive officer deputising for some other, who was the regular *limu*. In certain cases, at all events, the man who was so deputising (if that be the correct explanation) became *limu* himself shortly after. This peculiarity has not yet appeared in Assyrian documents, and until it does so we must be content to remark the fact without drawing any conclusions as to whether the *limu* was the same in Ashur and in Asia Minor. But there is yet another feature which serves to distinguish the dating system in Asia Minor, so far as we at present know. The common method of defining a point of time in the Cappadocian documents is "in the *ḫamuštu* of X, or of X and Y, month of . . . ., the *limu* being Z." There can be no doubt that *ḫamuštu* means a period of five days; the continual mention in these documents of five and ten days in a manner corresponding to our colloquial use of "a week" or "a fortnight" should have forbidden the doubts and speculations which have gathered around this term,[5] and the frequent specification that a loan is to be repaid in so many *ḫamšatim*, that is, periods of five days, allows of no other interpretation whatever. There was, then, not only an eponymous official for the year in Cappadocia, but also one or two such officials for the week of five days. Was this institution also known to the early Assyrians? If it was, then it had disappeared before the second half of the second millennium, or it would most certainly have been mentioned in the numerous documents of that period known to us. If it did exist in Assyria in the third millennium beside the similar

institution of the *limu* why did the one disappear while the other remained until the latest period of Assyrian history? It might possibly be argued that the Assyrians, as they fell increasingly under the influence of Babylonia, gave up the five-day week for the seven-day week which appears to have been in use in the southern country. But it has been seen that the office of *limu* was connected with the performance of certain religious duties, and the force of analogy compels us to believe that the eponyms of the *ḫamuštu* were also occupied, at any rate partly, in religious duties. It was precisely because of the religious significance that the cumbrous dating by the *limu* was never abandoned in Assyria, even in Sargonid times when Babylonian influence was strongest; by the same token, it is difficult to believe that, had the institution of eponyms for a five-day week ever been known in Assyria, it would have disappeared. The negative evidence, then, which consists in the absence of the mention of this institution in the scanty documents of early Assyria, is reinforced by the doubts inspired by an assumption of its disappearance. It may well be that the eponyms of the five-day week were not known to the early Assyrians, but belonged exclusively to the towns of Asia Minor. If that be so, then in this important respect there was a difference between the eponymous systems of Cappadocia and Assyria; in the former it was applied in a more thorough manner than in the latter. This points to some common origin at a very much earlier period, before the Assyrians entered the land of Assyria at all, a view which would harmonise with a western or rather north-western origin of the Assyrians.

If we turn to the calendar, the same elements of confusion present themselves. All the Assyrian month names save one are used in the Cappadocian documents. There are, on the other hand, three names, or possibly four, in the Cappadocian documents which do not occur in the lists of early Assyrian month names. This difficulty is at once a matter of considerable importance, and one that is so instructive that it cannot be passed over lightly. The one name of an

Assyrian month which possibly does not reappear in the Cappadocian documents is that of the second, *tanmarti*. But there is a month name *takmarta*, and another, *akwarta*, is perhaps a scribal error for *takwarta*; and it is conceivable that the sign read *tan* in *tanmarti* is really intended for *tak*. In this way some part of the differences between the calendars may be overcome, but this solution is far from certain. And there are still three month names which occur in the Cappadocian texts, called the months of *Kiratim*, *Tinatim*, and *Narmak-Ashir*. Of these, the last certainly takes its name from some religious ceremonial, while the first two appear to mean "the month of gardens" and "the month of figs" respectively. What the explanation of the existence of at least fourteen (and possibly more) month names in Asia Minor may be is not certain. One at least may have been introduced only for a time, namely Narmak-Ashir, for it is by its nomenclature closely associated with the Assyrian god and yet does not appear in the old Assyrian calendar; but "the month of gardens" and "the month of figs" probably were never used in Assyria, for they have every appearance of belonging to an agricultural calendar suitable only in Syria, since garden and fig culture are more characteristic of that land than of any other country where a Semitic language was spoken. There remains, of course, the possibility (really an improbability) that one of these names was reserved for an intercalary month. In short, it would seem that while the old Assyrian calendar was used in Cappadocia, another calendar also was known and occasionally used.

The merchants in Cappadocia used a system of time reckoning and a calendar which were not derived from Babylonia; the system of weights and measures employed by them was in part the same as the Babylonian. The shekel, mina and talent were the weights in common use; the *qa* was the usual dry measure. But there are some measures, for example, "the sack," peculiar to Cappadocia; and it would seem that the basis of arithmetical calculation there was not, as among the Sumerians, sexagesimal, but decimal. The

impression derived from the weights and measures in use is that the Cappadocian merchants conformed to the Babylonian terminology for the commonest weights and measures, but that they had besides these a native system of their own. The basis of the native numeration was probably five, and if the arguments derived from comparative metrology are sound, the Cappadocians share a system common in a well-defined area which borders on the great inland seas of southern Europe. the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

The character of the writing and a seal impression dating from the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur are sufficient proof that cuneiform writing was introduced into the Caesarea district at the time of that dynasty; yet another seal impression which bears the name of Sargon (Sharru-kin) I of Assyria is a testimony to the fact that the tablets range over a period of about two centuries (or, if the longer dating be accepted, the almost incredible period of three centuries).[6] The question naturally arises as to whether the Third Dynasty of Ur actually controlled Cappadocia. The seal impression which reads "to the god Ibi-Sin, the mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four quarters, Ur-Lugalbanda the scribe, son of Ur . . . thy servant," is not in itself proof of more than the otherwise known fact that the Cappadocian merchants were in close commercial connections with territories which were directly subordinate to the Ur kings, such as Urshu. There is, however, the curious question of the seal cylinders to be considered in this connection. There is, in the first place, the probability that the practice of sealing the envelopes of documents was derived from the legal practice first enforced by the Ur kings; and secondly, there is the natural division that can be made in the seal impressions extant, which fall into two classes.[7] Of these the one class is distinctively Babylonian, in which the majority of the impressions belong to the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur; the other class is generally known as "Syro-Hittite," the term being intended to indicate an art common to Syria and Asia Minor, and distinct from that of

Babylonia, though derived from it (Fig. 15, *a* and *b*). Since the "Syro-Hittite" art is already fully developed at the time of the earliest Cappadocian tablets, it is reasonable to assume that the use of the cylinder seal was introduced very early in the Third Dynasty of Ur, perhaps in the time of Shulgi. These facts are, however, insufficient to justify the assumption that Cappadocia was conquered or attached to the empire of Ur by

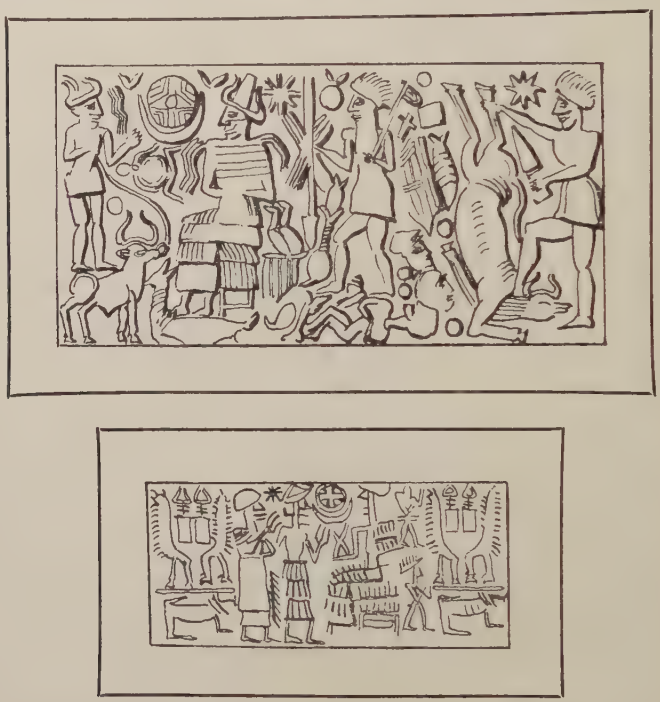


FIG. 15, *a* and *b*.

Impressions of seals on envelopes of tablets from Kul Tepe in the early Syro-Hittite style. B.M. Nos. 113580 and 113582. See pp. 155–6.

Ur-Nammu or Shulgi, though such a possibility cannot be entirely dismissed as baseless for a different reason.[8] There appears an element of Sumerian influence in the vocabulary of these documents which implies that this population had derived certain words from the Sumerians. Thus the Sumerian word for gold, KU·GI, pronounced according to syllabaries *guškin*, was not merely adopted as an ideogram but must actually

have been pronounced in the Sumerian manner, as the writing KU·KI proves. It is, of course, extremely difficult to account for the migration of individual words; some students of Indo-European languages assume that the Sumerian word URUDU was borrowed by the early Aryans,[9] and it might similarly be supposed that KU·KI was a casual borrowing. It should, by the way, be pointed out that it is curious that the Sumerians, who dwelt in a land that possessed no gold, copper, or any other metal, should have given the world the term URUDU, which spread far, while Cappadocia, where gold was to be had, borrowed the term KU·KI. To some minds even casual borrowings of this kind demand an explicit explanation, and it is possible that some temporary Sumerian domination during the early reigns of the Third Ur Dynasty left the influences which have here been examined.

Though the Ur Dynasty may at some time have established a temporary supremacy which left lasting traces in the civilisation north of Taurus, the Semitic-speaking element was most certainly in these cities before any such supremacy was established; these merchants were not introduced into Asia Minor from Babylonia. It is equally certain that the Semitic-speaking element was intrusive, for the towns in which they settled bore native Asianic names. How came men with Semitic names, speaking a language closely allied to Assyrian, into Asia Minor? The object for which they went thither is patent: the gold, silver, lead, and copper which were abundant in Cappadocia and Cilicia provide an all-sufficient reason. But the strength of the motive does not explain the means by which the settlement was effected. It is very simple to speak of these strangers in Asia Minor as "Semitic colonists," but colonising is never a simple matter, more especially in early times. Colonisation by any foreigners amongst a native people of Asia Minor must have been accompanied in the third millennium before Christ by exactly the same struggles, and ended in the same kind of victories for the colonists, as attended the Greek colonisation over a thousand years later. Were these Semitic-speaking people

actually colonists in the strict sense of the word? Did they, that is, voluntarily settle in cities previously Asianic in population to satisfy the need of some Mesopotamian Power? One scholar is certainly of this opinion, for he assumes the existence of a great Assyrian empire which reached right across Mesopotamia to Syria, and spread northwards of Taurus to the Black Sea. Since Assyria was subject to the Third Dynasty of Ur, the conquest of this vast area must have been accomplished before that time, and the theory demands that the Assyrian empire originated owing to a great movement of the Assyrian people which is compared to the movement which gave rise to the empire of Agade; or alternatively the date of the Cappadocian tablets is reduced, against the weight of evidence, to the time of the first Shamshi-Adad. There are others who, neglecting the difficulty of the distinctively Assyrian character of the Semitic-speaking population north of Taurus, believe that these "colonists" were planted in Asia Minor by Sargon of Agade. Yet another school refuses to admit the possibility of either of these hypotheses, and considers the "trading colonies" as Assyrian, directly responsible to Assyria, but merely isolated outposts of that power in a land ruled by native princes. But the collection of taxes from these colonies is not easily to be reconciled with this view.

Where such various views have already been expressed, it is unnecessary and unwise to add further to the confusion. Perhaps documents will some time be found that will explain the origin of these so-called "colonies." Clearly the Babylonians had a well-defined tradition, part of which is preserved in the extant tablet of the "King of the Battle" series; and according to that, there were traders who suffered oppression at the hands of a king of Burshaḫanda, and appealed to Sargon of Agade. The Babylonians therefore probably believed that there were men in the district of Burshaḫanda who considered Sargon their natural ally, and it seems probable that these traders who were no warriors were the same people, though earlier in date, as those whose records are extant.

Unless the Babylonian tradition is to be rejected as entirely unhistorical—and we have no good reason yet for doing that—much the same conditions as we find prevalent in the Cappadocian tablets existed in Sargon's time, before 2500 B.C. Any explanation must take account of this fact, and also of the possibility that these so-called "colonists" were really men transplanted by an Asiatic power into Cappadocia for trade purposes from some adjoining territory. In the law code which was drawn up by a Hittite king of the fourteenth or thirteenth century B.C., in which provisions distinguishing between the penalties for different nationalities are laid down, there is one separate clause dealing with the penalty for the murder of a "merchant" generally, with specific provisions if the murder be committed in Lûia, Pala, or the Hittite land. The singling out of the "merchant" in this way, as a very special and peculiar class, probably reflects very ancient conditions in Asia Minor, of a time when the "merchant" was a man of alien race and foreign speech; the conditions in fact which are revealed by the Cappadocian tablets.

Those conditions are in effect comparatively simple. The tablets are the business archives of certain great banking houses in the city of which Kul Tepe near Caesarea marks the site. These banking houses were engaged in financing and managing a caravan trade which reached points far north of Caesarea, for Burushḫatim, frequently mentioned, lay somewhere near the later capital of the Hittite empire, Boghaz Keui; to the south, the caravans, which consisted of pack-asses, passed (by way of the Cilician gates perhaps) through Syria, past Harran, to the Euphrates valley, thence to proceed either to the city of Ashur past the hills of Sinjar, or to Babylon down the Euphrates. The messages to be delivered to merchants were written upon tablets, the text upon which begins "to X say, thus Y," which is a command to the scribe who read the tablet. This formula is a literal translation of that used in Sumerian at the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur, and became the standard introduction for such letter tablets in Babylonia.

Often such tablets from Cappadocia contain messages to more than one person, and were sent by more than one. Another type of tablet relates to the depositing of goods, either legally entrusted or left without security. Others contain entries of the daily business transacted, recording payments, receipts, and the disposition of sums of money. A large and important class of tablets deal with loans, which present some special features of interest. The means of exchange in Cappadocia were pre-eminently silver and copper; gold was rare, but also used for this purpose. Lead was a common article of merchandise, but does not seem to have been used as currency; tin (for which there was no distinctive word) was not known in the pure state, since the weights mentioned prove that lead is always intended. The metals in use as currency were lent to traders for specified periods, reckoned in five-day weeks; the sums lent were free of interest during that period, but after the lapse of the specified time, the interest to be paid is named. The periods allowed vary very considerably and were obviously based upon a reckoning of a reasonable time for the journey; sometimes the city in which the loan is to be repaid to an agent of the broker who advances the money is specified. In those cases where it was impossible to be certain of the length of time that might be necessary, a special proviso was inserted that if on arrival the trader did not repay the loan, interest was to accrue "according to the word of the *garum*," that is, of the legal court of the city which was the goal of the caravan. The bond upon which the loans were made was "the head," that is the person, of the debtor, and of his household. In case of default he is to "enter the broker's house," presumably as a slave. When the loan was made to a number of persons, the "safe and true" one amongst them became the security; the phrase may have reference to the fact that on such caravan journeys death was not uncommon, perhaps owing to violence, and that many absconded. In one list of such loans it is specified that, in addition to interest for a period exceeding the allotted term, the debtors shall

"return" $1\frac{1}{6}$ shekels per mina "of the *bit garim*." This would seem to mean that the amount borrowed bore the stamp of the court-house, and in recognition of its standard value an additional weight was to be repaid; in that case stamped metal weight, if issued by a corporate authority, possessed a value above unmarked metal. The legal cases that arose out of this caravan traffic were numerous and of various kinds, and a certain number of the tablets are records of agreements entered into by traders before witnesses, records of evidence given and oaths sworn in court, and statements of decisions and judgments delivered.

The continual mention of cities in these documents affords valuable information as to the districts through which these caravans travelled. It is possible to identify certain cities in Asia Minor, Ganish, Burush-ḫatim, Kushara, Zalba, Timelkia, Shamuḫa, Shala-duwar, Shalaḫshuwa, Tashkuria, Ḫurama, Waḫshu-shana, Ḫaḫu, Wash-ḫalia, Wilush, with places named in Hittite texts which date from about seven or eight hundred years later. It is possible, but by no means certain, that Ganish is the name of the ancient site marked by the mound Kul Tepe. Burush-ḫatim may be the Barshuḫanda of the Hittites; Kushara is certainly the ancient city and district in which the earliest kings of the Hittites, the so-called proto-Hittites, dwelt. Zalba and Timelkia, later called Zalpa and Tamalki, were at one time, according to the Hittite Law Code, in the hands of "warriors" who were exempt from agricultural labour. Of cities in Syria the three which can most certainly be approximately located are Harran, Barga (south of Aleppo), and Urshu (in North Syria). Eluḫud, called by the Assyrians over a thousand years later Eluḫat, lay to the north of Assyria, but whether in Asia Minor or in Mesopotamia it is at present impossible to say. "The city of the god Ashur" is mentioned only once, and this manner of speech is a strong reason for believing that the city took its name from the god, a view for which some other grounds have already been advanced. There is also constant mention of "the city" in the documents, and this city had a

commercial law court, also called "the city," *alum*, while the communal court of a city in Asia Minor is invariably called by another name, *garum*. Since this word *garum* is used in apposition with town names, as Ganish or Urshu, it would seem to be parallel to *alu* and to denote a community of a slightly different kind. Under the First Dynasty of Babylon there is not infrequent mention of a *karu* at Sippar, at the head of which there was a broker; and since this institution was engaged both as a court and as a trading agency in the same manner as the *garum* of the Cappadocian documents, it is reasonable to suppose that the two words are the same. In that case it should be noted that in classical Akkadian the word *karu* is not used in apposition with the town name, but in the construct case, which marks the genitive connection: while the Cappadocian texts speak of "the *garum*, that is Ganish," the Akkadian documents use the expression "the *karu* of Sippar." Some scholars are inclined to compare the element *Kar* which occurs in the names of cities founded by later rulers of Assyria, as in Kar-Tukulti-Enurta, or in the old Babylonian city name Kar-Shamash, and also the word *karu*, which means "a quay." They argue that from "quay" the word came to mean "a business place," and then "a settlement of traders" or the like. From this they infer that the men who formed the *garum* were members of a trading colony, and that *alum*, the city of Ashur, was the capital city which exercised a continual control over the colonists. If this be so, a further corollary must result from the documents, that while Ashur was the capital, Ganish was the principal colony, of which the authorities had to collect dues even from Urshu, where there were "colonies." Whether this theory will prove well founded it is not yet possible to say; that there are difficulties from the historical point of view is at once apparent, and these do not grow less when the question of the population with Asianic names is considered. An attempt to mark a clear distinction between the natives and the "colonists," and to suppose that the former were subject to their own "prince," *rubu*,

at Burush-ḫatim while the "colonists" everywhere instituted their own legal system based on the communal *garum* is not in accordance with the facts. The native and Semitic-speaking peoples intermarried; and the "prince" appears in documents which are concerned with affairs of the "colonies." Again, the confusion created by the interpretations of modern scholarship must be left on one side. But there is an isolated mention of a king, who either reigned at or had dominion over the city of Ḫaḫu, which does point to the existence of at least one kingdom ruled by native princes in the Taurus region.

The importance of these documents for the history of Assyria lies rather in certain broad general facts. The economic conditions of Babylonia as reflected in the business documents of the Ur period were much simpler than those in Cappadocia. The trade in metals and objects made of metal gave rise to a complicated commercial system which first appears in the south in the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Such a system is not produced in a short time, it may only have arisen after centuries. The pre-eminence of Cilicia in the production of metal and metal goods is, then, attested for the second half of the third millennium before our era; and it is the only centre which can be proved to have continued to hold such a pre-eminence for many centuries. The Sumerians of the Gudea period obtained copper from Kimash, perhaps somewhere in the Pusht-i-Kuh mountains, and from Magan, wherever that may be; but there is nothing to show that these places became great commercial centres. Cyprus, though frequent excavations have been conducted there, has no considerable civilisation to show in this early period; indeed the archaeological remains, which prove a dependence on the Aegean civilisation throughout the second millennium, seem to show that the material prosperity attending an extensive use of mineral wealth only appears about, or shortly before, the Greek invasion. Sinai could do little more than supply sufficient copper for use in the turquoise mines. The district round Lake Wân only became prominent in the period after

1000 B.C. But in Cilicia and Cappadocia the metal industry endured in a prosperous state throughout the Hittite domination; its miners were still active in the ninth century, when Shalmaneser III records a visit to see them, and the desire to command the trade routes which led to them was an important factor in the policy of later Assyrian kings. Such are the resources of this land that even so their wealth was not exhausted, and in the Christian era the metal trade of Cilicia played a considerable part in Levantine prosperity. There were not only mines, but metal workers; the writer of the genealogy of Enoch in the book of Genesis was acquainted with a tradition which ascribed the invention of forging to this area. There was then a prosperous civilisation in Asia Minor in the third millennium, with active commercial connections with Syria, and with the great centres on the Tigris and Euphrates; it is hardly to be conceived that the trade of this country did not also extend to Egypt and to the Aegean islands, but of this we have no evidence. That there was a considerable influence upon this civilisation from Babylonia at the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur is unquestionable, and it is a remarkable proof of the kind of unity in the civilisation of Western Asia at this time on which it is the object of this chapter to lay stress. It must no less be borne in mind that such an influence is not likely to be one-sided. While the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates doubtless gave much, they also received; and though it is impossible for us at present to be clear about the nature of the influence of Asia Minor, it must nevertheless have existed. The art of the cylinder seal is the only subject which has been investigated from this point of view, and it may serve to show the kind of results which may be expected from fuller examination. There appear on Cappadocian tablets imprints of cylinder seals of purely Babylonian type: there are, however, imprints of other cylinders and of stamp seals in which the composition and treatment are not purely Babylonian, and though most, if not all, of the motives appear in archaic Sumerian art (for instance, the continuous

a

b

PLATE XII

a, b. PROFILE AND FRONT OF STONE LION, SAID TO COME FROM KUL TEPE. POSSIBLY A WEIGHT. This figure is unlike any representation of the lion in Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian or Hittite art. B.M. No. 115,016. See p. 165.

looped cord, the association of deities with animals, and chariot scenes), it is clear that the use of these themes on seals is characteristic of the stone cutters of Asia Minor. Then these peculiarities, especially certain symbols such as the naked goddess, the ape, the dwarf, the isolated human head, begin to appear on Babylonian seals at the end of the Third Dynasty of Ur, and become fairly common under the First Dynasty of Babylon. Thus Asia Minor received, modified and returned in an altered form what it had received. And what may be tentatively said of the art is probably true in other respects. Some striking instances of works of art which cannot yet be placed in such a scheme, such as the stone lion (Plate XII), said to come from Kul Tepe, may finally prove to be due to an earlier or later period than that now under consideration. Having adopted Babylonian commercial usage in the matter of drawing up business documents, the business communities introduced those variations necessitated by their own needs, and these were in part adopted in Babylonia under the First Dynasty.

The significance of this early civilisation in Asia Minor, which has been hardly regarded by modern historians, needs, then, to be stressed. The century and a half during which the Third Dynasty of Ur ruled marked a period when Babylonian cultural influence was widely extended, when dialects (for different scribes use different words to express the same thing) closely related to Akkadian were spoken over a great area in Asia Minor, and when the metal industry of Cilicia and Cappadocia became so important that the native peoples of Asia entered into close communications with Babylonia precisely during the time when the literary and semi-scientific activities of the priesthood in that land were reaching their highest point. Between the twenty-second and the nineteenth centuries were composed the Epic of Gilgamesh, the Descent of Ishtar, the Atraḫasis story, and almost certainly the Creation Epic, with many other poems of which we have only fragments. Astrological speculation had begun to connect the old agricultural deities with the stars, and the astral

symbolism which thereafter became the predominant feature of the religion of the Euphrates and Tigris valleys, became the common theme of art. The vast omen literature, which included all subjects from the observation of the stars to the accidents of daily life, was being collected. Mathematics and geometry [10] were studied not merely for practical purposes; the opportunities afforded by the intricate workings possible to a sexagesimal system led to the evolution of a notation closely resembling modern decimal notation, and the geometrical problems afforded in measuring area excited an interest in figures beyond the necessities of the ordinary farmer or taxgatherer. During the period to which the Cappadocian tablets belonged, roughly two centuries, the literature, art and religion of the peoples of Asia Minor were being formed; and they received their permanent character from that time. In the course of one thousand years the early impress was never removed: developments peculiar to Asia Minor occurred, the genius of native peoples was duly expressed, but the manner was once for all decided at the end of the third millennium. Asia Minor was peculiarly open to foreign influences; Crete and the Aegean, Egypt and the Palestinian and Syrian coast throughout the second millennium exercised a considerable influence on the Hittite civilisation, and it was precisely because those influences were superficial, while radically the civilisation remained more closely akin to that of the river valleys, that Assyria particularly was influenced by the modifications in Asia Minor. This anticipation of the course of events must be excused, because it is in the light of this early civilisation in Asia Minor that the subsequent history must be interpreted.

If we return to the consideration of the city of Ashur, the difficulty of combining what has been inferred from the meagre documents available for the history of that city with the far-reaching speculations that have been recounted is obvious. If the city of Ashur was a small territory, subordinate to the Third Dynasty of Ur from about the fortieth year of Shulgi, how came it that this city could exercise any control

over cities situated in distant Asia Minor? If the city did in fact exercise such control, what is to be thought of the campaigns of the Ur kings which rather point to the independence of Urbillum and the surrounding plain from the control of the governor of Ashur? The truth is, that we have not yet sufficient evidence to judge the answers variously given to these questions; but the uncertainties by which the history of the period is obscured must not be allowed to minimise the truth that in this epoch the subsequent conditions of the Assyrian state were created. A people in whom probably there were many racial strains, speaking a Semitic language closely akin to, but distinct from, classical Akkadian, was settled in and round the capital city, Ashur. To north and east these Assyrians bordered on a Subaraean population, with whom they had not yet begun to intermarry. To the south lay Akkad, and events were already in course of development there which would affect, for a time, the course of an age-long struggle. On the south-west there were the important states of Mari and Suḫi, with the population of which Ashur necessarily had very close connections. But the outstanding feature of the age was unquestionably the prosperity induced by the traffic with the extreme north-west of Syria and with Cilicia and Cappadocia. Owing to that traffic Ashur itself became at once an industrial city and the distributing centre for the lands east of the Tigris. Organised to meet the demands of the southern kings on their provinces, the Assyrian people became trained in the complicated business of governing itself: dependent upon a commerce which had to meet the dues and exactions of despotic rulers on the road, that people would never voluntarily lose the benefit of orderly control bestowed upon them by the Ur kings. It will be necessary constantly to refer back to this time in order to understand much later history.

CHAPTER XI

WARS OF THE CITY STATES

THE affairs of an empire, such as that ruled by the Third Dynasty of Ur, are liable to exhaust the strength of those who labour to administer them. The extent of their rule forced the later kings to thrust upon the chief officers a multiplicity of duties, which over a course of years might well prove beyond the powers of the strongest. Arad-Nannar, the "tenant farmer" of Lagash, was entrusted with the control of all the most turbulent lands east of the Tigris, Urbillum, Ḫamaṣi, Ganḫar, Subartu, Qarda, as well as several cities in the north-east of his homeland, in the time of Gimil-Sin. Throughout that reign, it may be, things went well; and it is impossible to say when in the reign of Ibi-Sin the dangers to which the realm was exposed first became serious, and what form the revolt which ended the empire of Ur took. It may be that the collapse was slow, that the distant provinces detached themselves piecemeal; it may equally be true that the fall of Ur was quite sudden. Some few of the circumstances which immediately preceded the final disaster are known. Ishbi-Irra was by origin a man of Mari who marched to Isin, and obtained armed assistance from Elam. Ibi-Sin, faced by this danger, sent certain orders to the "tenant farmer" of Kazallu, a district near the Tigris.[1] Whatever the measures taken, they were unsuccessful. "Ur was smitten with weapons. The kingship passed to Isin," and Ibi-Sin was taken a captive to Elam. This obscure incident is curiously instructive. The renewed activities of the Amorites in Akkad depended upon a fresh invasion from outside the recognised borders; even so, the success of the invader depended upon the

alliance with Elam, which, after centuries of quiescence, had again become a powerful military factor, largely, we may surmise, because peace of a kind had restored its man-power. The order of events must then have been that Mari and Elam threw off the supremacy of the kings of Ur, and, finding themselves bound to make common cause, undertook a twofold campaign. While Ishbi-Irra invaded Akkad and conquered Isin, the Elamites attacked the southern country. In his early years, the last king of Ur was able to gain some important victories; he was in the end defeated by the numbers of his enemies. The literature of the time contains many references to the fall of Ibi-Sin, and the books of omens derived from inspection of the liver perpetuated the memory of his capture.

Ishbi-Irra and his successors remain little more than a name at present; the inscriptions of the period give no information as to their warlike activities or the extent of their dominions. The traditions of the seers as preserved in the omens from misbirths attributed a successful reign to Ishbi-Irra;[1] and these traditions are generally reliable. The places in which the inscriptions of Gimil-ilishu, Idin-Dagan and Ishme-Dagan have been found[2] are sufficient to prove that they ruled over the most important centres in the south. Yet there is the difficult fact to account for that there was a contemporary dynasty founded at Larsa by Naplanum at the very time that Ishbi-Irra ascended the throne at Isin. How came it that the kings who ruled at Isin, not far from Nippur, could secure recognition in Erech and Ur while Larsa remained independent? To what accident of fortune was it due that Naplanum was able to found a dynasty at all? A partial explanation may be found in the geographical position of Larsa. Situated well to the east of the main course of the Euphrates, the city stood at one time very close to the head of the Persian Gulf. Throughout the Sumerian period there must have been a continual increase in the mud-flats at the head of the Gulf, and Larsa became the northerly point of a land difficult of access to troops, not to be

	ASSYRIA.	BABYLONIA.			
				Ur (3) (ctd.)	
				Ibi-Sin.	
		Babylon.	Larsa.	Isin.	
			Naplanum.	Ishbi-Irra, 32 years.	
			Emiṣu, 28 yrs.		
				Gimil-ilishu, s., 10 yrs.	
				1984	
			Samûm, 35 yrs.	Idin-Dagan, s., 21 yrs.	
				1973	
				Ishme-Dagan, s., 20 yrs.	
				1953	
			Zabaia, 9 yrs.	Lipit-Ishtar, s., 11 yrs.	
				1934	
			Gungunu, 27 yrs.	Ur-Enurta, 28 yrs.	
			1932	1923	
2060	Puzur-Ashur I.				
2050	Shalim-aḫum, s.				
		Amorites.	Abi-sare, 11 yrs.		
	Ilushuma, s.				
			Sumu-ilu, 29 yrs.	Pur-Sin II, s., 21 yrs.	
2030	Irishum, I, s. 1920	Sumu-abu, 14 yrs.		1896	
		1894		Lipit-Enlil, s., 5 yrs.	
		Sumu-la-ilu, 36 yrs.		Irra-imitti, 8 yrs.	
		1880			
	Ikunum, s. 1900		Nur-Adad, 16 yrs.	Enlil-bani, 24 yrs.[1]	
			1865		
			Sin-idinnam, 6 yrs.		
			1849		
	Sharru-kin (Sargon) I, s. 1880		Sin-eribam, 2 yrs.	Zambia, 3 yrs.	
			Sin-iqisham, 5 yrs.	Iter-pisha, 5 yrs.	
		Zabum, s., 14 yrs.	Silli-Adad, 1 yr.	Ur-dukuga, 4 yrs.	
		1844	Warad-Sin, s. of Kudur-Mabug, 12 yrs.	Sin-magir, 11 yrs.	

land armies could easily penetrate. But such a division of authority necessitated a continual effort on the part of the marsh-dwellers in one respect; the possession of a town at the extreme north of the marshes which should act as the principal market was essential. When Lagash and Umma declined, the natural centre for trade was Larsa, and when the history of these towns becomes more clear it will probably be found that the towns to the north-east declined largely owing to the manipulation of the canals from the Tigris. When the dynasty of Ishbi-Irra established its supremacy by arms in Akkad, the southern country had still to be dealt with. Ur and Eridu, devastated by the Elamites when they carried Ibi-Sin away a prisoner, were easily added to their dominions. Larsa and the marsh districts, though only some seventy miles distant from Isin, were a different, and more difficult, proposition. The capture of Larsa alone would not suffice; either the marsh lands must be captured too, or the city must be continually defended against attack from the east and south. Powerful as the rulers of Isin doubtless were, they were unable to essay that task. But within the marsh-lands there was now a considerable element of Semitic-speaking people; the strangers who appear on the monuments of the Third Dynasty of Ur were able to seize the opportunity afforded by Elamite methods when Ibi-Sin fell. Other elements in the population of the marshes were to take a similar opportunity much later.

The glorious days of the Agade and Third Ur dynasties were, then, no longer possible for a king of Babylonia. The problem of holding and administrating his own country had become too difficult. To the danger from the east there was added the more pressing danger from the south. Yet it would be an error, in our present state of knowledge, to attribute too limited a dominion to the early kings of the Isin dynasty. The fifth and last in the legitimate succession was a considerable figure in the history of Babylonia, Lipit-Ishtar. This king promulgated a law-code, perhaps the original which was adapted by Hammurabi,

based on the Sumerian laws which were probably reduced to writing in the time of Shulgi. The circumstances of his reign so far as at present known do not preclude the possibility that his power extended to the north; and an inscription on an "eye" of banded agate recording his dedication of this object to Ninlil, the *beltis* of the gods, when Lipit-Ishtar "had established justice in Sumer and Akkad," may possibly be from native excavations at Nineveh.[4] His reign ended in a disaster which brought another family to the throne. Ur-Enurta and his son, Pur-Sin, bear names of a type different from their predecessors, but it is not possible to say with certainty that they were Sumerians. The downfall of Lipit-Ishtar was clearly connected with the sudden increase in the prosperity of Larsa. Gungunu, the fifth king of the Larsa dynasty, must have met and defeated Lipit-Ishtar's forces, for the city of Ur passed from the dominion of Isin to Larsa, as is attested by date formulæ found in the city. The victory proved a final one; Ur did not again acknowledge the rule of any king of Isin. The change made little difference. Enannatum, the chief priest at Ur, Lipit-Ishtar's brother, rebuilt the temple of the sun-god at Larsa, presumably with funds derived from the treasury of the moon-god, in Gungunu's time; if there was no change in the supreme office at Ur, there can have been in general but little change in the personnel of the administration of that city. Doubtless Gungunu and his successors strove also to extend their power northwards; but Ur-Enurta and Pur-Sin must have been able to prevent this, for their dedications at Nippur imply that they continued to hold that city. The death of Lipit-Enlil, Pur-Sin's son, after a short reign of five years, was the prelude to a series of domestic disturbances. Not only was the legitimate succession at Isin broken; in no case do the remaining kings at Isin appear as the sons of their predecessors. One of them, Irra-imitti, seems to have abdicated voluntarily and perhaps even committed suicide by drinking poison, after setting a gardener, Enlil-bani, on the throne.[5] These rapid changes at Isin were

certainly caused by the gradual but continual success of the Larsa kings.

Gungunu had doubtless been hampered in his original attack on Isin by the hostility of Elamite princes on his eastern border. In his fourth year he had to do battle with the forces of Anshan, probably choosing as his battle-ground land east of the Tigris. The heavy labour of keeping canals in good order, an urgent necessity for Larsa, restrained the military ambitions of its kings. Abi-sare did not do more than hold the districts he had inherited, but Sumu-ilu was continually engaged in protecting the eastern border. The independent princedom of Kazallu, which in earlier times had submitted to Sargon of Agade, was now the principal opponent, and Sumu-ilu met the danger successfully, without however reducing the district to submission. Able doubtless to restrict the rule of Isin to very narrow limits, he could not establish his own sovereignty in the north, and the significant event of his reign was the assumption of kingship at Babylon by Sumu-abu, the founder of a great dynasty. The epoch-making nature of this event is more readily understood than the precise cause, and the circumstances which led to it. The site of Babylon was, according to the belief of late native historians, very ancient. Sargon of Agade had in some way committed a sacrilege against Marduk by removing certain earth from the city, and the god accordingly stirred up a rebellion by inflicting a famine on the people. The place was holy, "the gate of the gods," doubtless because of some natural feature, and it was especially connected with the chthonian deity Asari, the son of Ea who was begotten in the underworld dwelling *duku* where the sweet waters lay; hence, argued the learned scribes of later times, the name Marduk, the son of the *duku*.[6] Unfortunately there is no precise information about the early population. One name of an *iššaku*, Arshiḫ, in the time of Shulgi, throws no light on the matter, for the name is found also at Ur and in the Cappadocian tablets. Owing to its geographical position, Babylon must always have been particularly liable to invasion from

the populous districts along the Euphrates to the north, and it is reasonable to suppose that at least a considerable element in the population was closely akin in blood to the men of Suḫi and Mari, though political considerations effected a severance later. The outstanding feature of the First Dynasty of Babylon founded by Sumu-abu is, that the royal names belong to a complicated group which betrays more decided relations with Hebrew than with Akkadian or Assyrian in the verbal forms, a group known to be predominant in the kingdom of Ḫana, which embraced the districts of the middle Euphrates during the Kassite period. There is, then, good reason to assert that the rise of the First Dynasty at Babylon was connected with the increasing importance of a people who differed very considerably from the Akkadians, and may be termed, on the basis of their language, "West Semitic." The most characteristic feature of the "West Semitic" and "East Semitic" (Akkadian and Assyrian) languages is to be found in the formation of the third person singular of the preterite of a verb; thus the "West Semitic" has *yašmaḫ* or *yašma'*, the "East Semitic" *išme*. None of the kings' names of the First Dynasty actually present this peculiarity, and so eminent a scholar as Zimmern has questioned the acute suggestion of Pognon that these names were foreign to Babylonian speech; but there can be no doubt, on the basis of the now constantly increasing material, that these royal names do belong to this "West Semitic" group. Modern historians have gone further, and asserted that this dynasty was "Amorite," relying upon the general use of the word "Amor," *Amurru*, for the west; and the Babylonian scribes appear to have agreed with their later successors, since in one instance[7] "the dynasty of Amurru" replaces in an omen "the dynasty of Babylon." The very complicated and fantastic arguments that have recently been put forward to rebut this conclusion, mainly consisting of philological and geographical theories sometimes incorrect and at most of doubtful value, have not in fact invalidated this position seriously.

But the nature of the historical meaning of "Amorite" requires investigation, lest the term be given a content which it never possessed for the Babylonian.

It has been seen that Sumerian legends attribute the disturbances caused by the entry of settlers of Semitic speech to MAR·TU people, that is to men from the land Amurru, in that case a vague geographical term for the west, including the high plateau which stretches across the northern part of the Syrian desert. These "Amorite" settlers in Babylonia were the direct ancestors of the Akkadians; there is then every reason to believe that the early "Amorites" of the legends belonged to a group which spoke a dialect of the East Semitic type. But the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon belong, to judge from their names, to the West Semitic group, so that if they be termed "Amorites" also this term must not be interpreted strictly as referring to a group that form a linguistic or even a racial unity. For the Babylonian, Amurru was a purely geographical term, used rather vaguely; and for the modern writer "Amorite," if used purely in this sense of "Westerner," is a fit and proper designation of this First Dynasty of Babylon, as it was for the Babylonian scribe. This fact established, it is impossible to draw any deduction from the still more extended use of the term "Amorite" in common use as a term for a class of menials, apparently at quite an early period. Men with various names, Akkadian and Elamite, might so be classed; why men of western origin should bear such names we are not in a position to decide, and the fact that they did so has little importance beyond reflecting the social conditions in Babylonia at the time.

How came it, then, that these men of western origin were able to establish a dynastic rule at Babylon which could resist the kings of Isin? Historical facts lead to the conclusion that the event at Babylon was not isolated; men with names belonging to the same West Semitic type were active elsewhere than in the lands of the middle Euphrates valley and north-western Babylonia. Sumu-abu's successors had to deal with a dynasty at Kish with West Semitic names;

even the district of Kazallu, east of Tigris, once ruled by native princes, was held by a certain Yaḫzar-ilu in the time of Sumu-abu's son. Indeed, it is possible that the prominence of Kazallu in resisting both Isin and Babylon was entirely due to the efforts of men not native to the locality. The invasion of Babylonia by these foreigners was, then, not a concerted invasion by a people led by a single conqueror; it was rather a case in which the foreign element introduced by peaceful means spasmodically seized the rule in certain cities and fought indifferently with the settled inhabitants or one another, according to their temporary interests. Many explanations might be offered for such a state of affairs; none can be supported at present by any secure evidence. But the position in Babylonia is fairly clear, and of importance for understanding events in the north. The long-standing rivalry of Isin and Larsa had relaxed the hold that Babylonia had had upon the lands of the middle Euphrates; the decline in Babylonian authority was followed by the appearance of men of an alien speech, who rapidly assumed power, and shortly after the time of the foundation of the First Dynasty of Babylon three Western Semitic rulers, at Babylon, Kish, and Kazallu, were contending with the older dynasties at Isin and Larsa.

The circumstance which principally affected the city of Ashur was the relaxation of the control of the trade routes, previously held by the southern power. The strong rule of the kings of Ur which had dominated the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates was now no more; and petty princelings were in a position to impose their own terms on traders. Thereby the city of Ashur was threatened, and the necessities of the city required that its rulers should take their part in the struggles of the time. The lucrative import trade with Cappadocia, the no less important export trade to Babylonia, must be protected. And it is precisely at this period that there appeared men with distinctively Assyrian names, whose rule of Ashur was sufficiently independent to enable them to play a considerable part. Fortune has decreed that they

remain for the most part names; their inscriptions occasionally enable us to record their building achievements. A single sentence enables us to perceive the process which was at work.

Puzur-Ashur, whose name heads the consecutive list of Assyrian rulers, is styled "the tenant-farmer of the district of Ashur"; his son Shalim-ahum, who erected a chamber in the temple of Ishtar where the sick might be cured by magical means,[8] bore the same title. Ilushuma, Shalim-ahum's son, a contemporary of Sumu-abu of Babylon, continued his father's work on the temple of Ishtar, and mentions incidentally that he "established the freedom of the Akkadians and their sons. . . . At Ur, Nippur, Awal, Kismar, Der of the god . . . as far as the city-state of Ashur I established their freedom." Were the chronicle tablet of the New Babylonian period which commenced "Ilushuma, King of Assyria, in the time of Su-abu" extant, we should have some account of an incursion by Ilushuma into Babylonia, and therewith yet one more proof of the trustworthiness of these late chronicles when tested by the contemporary inscriptions.[9] Ilushuma's claim to have restored the "freedom" of certain cities is rather more specific than the vague word "freedom" might imply; the "freedom" meant was freedom from taxation and forced labour. Now the towns mentioned by Ilushuma are very widely separated; Ur and Nippur were, nominally at all events, in the hands of Larsa, while Awal (possibly the ancient Awan), Kismar and Der were on, or east of, the Tigris, and may well have been in the hands of Sumu-ilu, to judge from that king's struggles with Kazallu. The inference would seem to be that the blow from Assyria fell specially on Larsa; yet there is no evidence which would confirm such a conclusion. Should it prove correct, then Ilushuma's action was unquestionably of advantage to the dynasty at Babylon; but it was conceived of by the Assyrian ruler as an effort to relieve "the Akkadians and their sons." It may therefore be that the remnants of the old Akkadian stock, whose ancestors had been settled in possession of broad acres by the dynasty of Agade,

had turned to the north for some support against the depredations of local rulers, anxious to strengthen themselves for internecine conflicts, and of the new element of foreigners forcing their way to the front. In any case Ilushuma's action is significant of the position of Ashur at the time, and of its interests. Able to protect their own trade interests by offensive military operations, the Assyrians were at some pains to relieve the great cities on the trade route which ran east of Tigris, then crossed the river westwards to Nippur, and proceeded thence to Ur. The action was not a disinterested one, nor was it due to a desire to impose Assyrian supremacy upon the southern people. How far the more limited and intelligible object was attained, remains quite uncertain.

CHAPTER XII

THE BABYLONIAN DOMINATION

THE times proved not unfavourable to Assyria, despite the confusion which continued in the south. There, the dynasty of Larsa, though it may have suffered a severe blow, yet remained dominant at Ur throughout the reigns of Nur-Adad and Sin-idinnam; but during the reign of the latter the war with Elam commenced which lasted throughout the reigns of his successors, Sin-eribam, Sin-iqisham, and Silli-Adad. Then at last the easterners defeated their natural enemies, and Elamites from Emutbal assumed the sovereignty. Warad-Sin ruled at Larsa, recognising his father Kudur-Mabug, the prince of Emutbal, as overlord; and his realm included all the great cities that had previously recognised the kings of Larsa. Meanwhile at Isin, the kings who succeeded Enlil-bani managed to maintain themselves within a limited area, and seem to have allied themselves alternately with Elam and Babylon, as occasion demanded. At Babylon, the heirs of Sumu-abu were content to defend their own possessions, and to fortify their capital. Yet throughout this troubled period the wealth of the country was not seriously impaired. Business documents show that trade remained good, and the spring campaigns of the time did not seriously affect ordinary commercial dealings. The prosperity of Assyria is shown by the building activities of Ilushuma's son, Erishum. In order to carry out his work on the temple of Ashur, he declared certain goods (silver, gold, bronze, lead, barley, and wool) free of tax; that is, in order to secure from the citizens extra labour, he was able to forgo certain revenues. Such an act reveals the wealth now entirely in the

hands of the independent rulers of Ashur; free from the necessity of paying tribute, they now claimed the duties on the important trade from Cappadocia, and must therefore have controlled the route which led to Caesarea (Mazaca).

It is true that this is only an inference for the time of Erishum and his son Ikunum. That it is a well-founded inference is proved by the Cappadocian tablet which bears the impression of the seal of Sargon I, "tenant-farmer of the god Ashur, son of Ikunum, tenant-farmer of the god Ashur." Whether Sargon ruled over the district from which this tablet came or not, it is clear that Assyria now occupied the place that Ur once had; the control of the caravan routes was in the hands of the ruler from whose law-courts orders binding on the travelling traders were issued. It is not necessary to conclude that Sargon founded an extensive empire, in the sense that Ur-Nammu and Shulgi did; but it is necessary to assume that Assyrian armies had imposed a certain awe on the inhabitants of the districts through which the caravans passed, or alternatively to suppose (and the supposition favours the tentative conclusions outlined above as to the origin of the Assyrians) that, after the Babylonian dominance had ceased, Mesopotamian and Syrian districts looked naturally to the city of Ashur for guidance, since Assyrians continued to form an important element in the population.

There is, unfortunately, no information to be obtained from the inscriptions at present as to the extent of the land of Assyria itself at this period. Did Nineveh, for instance, count by this time as an integral part of that land? It would seem natural to assume that it did so, from Hammurabi's language at a later date; but the inference is by no means certain. And as to the eastern districts, Irbil and Kirkuk, complete ignorance must be professed. If the ruler of Ashur was able to exercise some sort of authority over those parts, yet actually they retained their native character for centuries after the time of Sargon. That king was, however, a very considerable figure in Assyrian history, and it was probably from

him that Sargon II, the founder of a great dynasty in later times, adopted his royal name.

The successors of Sargon I, Puzur-Ashur II and Aḫi-Ashur are known to us from the dynastic list only; after them appears a name which raises one of the most considerable questions in early Assyrian history. Warad Sin was succeeded at Larsa by his brother, Rim-Sin, who acknowledged the supremacy of his father Kudur-Mabug as his predecessor had done. Between the assumption of sovereignty by Sumu-abu and the accession of Rim-Sin seventy years passed. Between Rim-Sin, the successor of Aḫi-Ashur, and Ilushuma, the contemporary of Sumu-abu, five monarchs had ruled in legitimate succession. Though there is no exact information as to the lengths of the reigns of the Assyrian kings, there is no gainsaying on this evidence, though great authorities have denied,[1] the probability that a Rim-Sin ruled at Ashur at precisely the same time as Rim-Sin ruled at Larsa. The possibility immediately suggests itself that the two are one and the same person. In favour of the identification may be urged the name itself, which is not particularly common, and occurs only in this case in the Assyrian royal names. Now the royal house in Assyria was generally careful to choose names of a distinctive type, and most of the names were borne by more than one monarch. Those names which occur only once generally include the name of one of the Assyrian gods, Ashur, Adad, Enlil, and are never identical with those of the Babylonian kings, except in the case of Sargon (Sharru-kenu, the true king) and Ishme-Dagan, which are to be explained by special reasons. If, then, the contemporaneity of the two Rim-Sins is probable, the identification of the two as one person is also probable, since the rejection of the identification would lead to the assumption of a series of coincidences which, though possible, is extremely unlikely. Against the identification some would consider it right to urge the date lists of Rim-Sin's time, since there is no hint in them of extensive northern conquests; but the argument from absence in this matter is of little weight, as has been seen in

the case of the Third Dynasty of Ur. The question must rather be considered in the light of the available information concerning the activities of the house of Kudur-Mabug.

This Elamite was the prince of Emutbal, also called Yamutbal, a district which included the important towns of Der and Ashnunnak (called by the Elamites Ṭupliash, the modern Tall Asmar, on the road from Baghdad to Mandali, eleven miles beyond the point where the road crosses the Diyalah), and he claimed to have freed Larsa from the oppression of Kazallu and Mutiabal; in other words, his rise to power was caused by the suppression of the principalities east of Tigris which had been able to contend on equal terms with the Larsa kings. Kudur-Mabug used a title, AD·DA, which is explained in his own inscriptions as meaning "father," and his son Warad-Sin calls him indifferently AD·DA of Yamutbal and of Amurru. As to why this peculiar title was used in reference to Kudur-Mabug, and apparently only in his case, there is no available explanation; it is not impossible that it is in some way connected with his relation to his sons, for though they entitle themselves "King of Sumer and Akkad" they continued to recognise his supremacy, in much the same way that the modern Sultan of Najd, known as Ibn Sa'ud, always deferred to his father, the Imām Abdulraḥman.[2] To conclude from this title, as some would do, that Yamutbal and Amurru must be terms including the same territory, and that Amurru must therefore lie east of Tigris, is arbitrary and paradoxical. The probability is that after Kudur-Mabug conquered Larsa and installed Warad-Sin there, the two were engaged in establishing their power in preparation for the struggle with Isin. In the course of that preparation Kudur-Mabug may have achieved some feat which entitled him to give himself this vague title of "father of Amurru," which need not necessarily mean more than that he had overthrown a "West Semite" dynasty and ruled its followers, as he did in Kazallu. It is then to be supposed that Kudur-Mabug occupied a powerful position east of Tigris; no more need be

inferred from his inscriptions. But before the attack on Isin could be carried out, Warad-Sin died; and Rim-Sin was so hampered by the attacks of Sin-muballiṭ of Babylon that he was not able to capture Isin until his twenty-fifth year. In the previous year Sin-muballiṭ had defeated the army of Ur; this must have been a garrison of Rim-Sin's, and it may be that the effort to restore the sovereignty of Larsa in the south led to the weakness at Isin which enabled Sin-muballit to capture that city in Rim-Sin's twenty-seventh year. But the Babylonian king had to retire once more, and Larsa must have been predominant for some ten years; Sin-muballiṭ's son, Hammurabi, ascended the throne four years after his father captured Isin, and not until his seventh year did he take Erech and Isin. By then, Rim-Sin's power was exhausted, and in the year after his defeat at Isin by Hammurabi, there was a struggle in the very territory of Yamutbal. From that time onwards Rim-Sin maintained himself with difficulty, and after twenty-three years he was driven from Ur and Larsa, and finally lost his life.

These facts, derived from the date-lists,[3] are the record of a long struggle between two foreign dynasties for the control of the central position in Babylonia, held by a local prince, Damiq-ilishu, the last of the kings of Isin. The Westerners at Babylon, the Eastern princes at Larsa, do not appear in this record as equally matched. For a long time Larsa held the upper hand; it was hampered by the activities of Sin-muballiṭ for a time, but finally asserted its predominance for a decade. Then came some addition of power to Hammurabi which enabled him to pursue the conflict on more equal terms and at length conquer his rival. It is of importance to note the sequence of events thereafter. Hammurabi overthrew Rim-Sin in the thirty-first year of his own reign, and carried the campaign into Emutbal in the next year. For four years he was engaged in peaceful enterprises; in the thirty-seventh year he fought the hosts of Turukku, Kakmum, and Subartu, in the thirty-eighth he harried Ashnunnak, and in the thirty-ninth he subdued all the

enemies of Subartu. These operations east of the Tigris had, then, three distinct objectives; Emutbal and Ashnunnak represented the last defences of his Elamite enemies, Subartu was approached along the modern Baghdad-Kirkuk road, Turukku lay farther north, and could best be reached by marching as far north as the city of Ashur along the Tigris, and then turning east. Now such marches to the Kirkuk area and northwards on Hammurabi's part lead to the conclusion that Ashur was in alliance with or tributary to him, otherwise it would have been impossible to venture upon it. A letter of Hammurabi's to Sin-idinnam, the governor of Larsa, makes it certain that actually the city was tributary, for in it the king gives orders concerning certain of his troops which had been relieved from duty in the district of Ashur for military service elsewhere. Clearly, then, Ashur had fallen into Hammurabi's hands before the thirty-seventh year. When did this event occur? If the date when the legal code was promulgated were exactly known, we should be in possession of a useful *terminus ante quem*, for in it Hammurabi appears as the overlord of both Ashur and Nineveh; it was almost certainly composed before the thirty-seventh year. There is, however, no mention of these two events in the date-list—a fact which shows how negligible the argument from absence in the case of these lists may be.

If this fact that Hammurabi was master of Ashur and Nineveh immediately after, and possibly even before, the fall of Rim-Sin, be considered in connection with the sudden change in the relative powers of Larsa and Babylon in Hammurabi's reign, a possible explanation suggests itself. The sinews of war at this period consisted of metal goods, and these we know were obtained in large part from Cappadocia. While Ashur was independent, the Elamite house at Larsa was unable greatly to interfere with the metal traffic to Babylon. The cause of the Larsa supremacy for about a decade may possibly be found in the fact that Rim-Sin of Larsa made himself king of Ashur also, to the exclusion of the local dynasty. By such an

action, the extent and nature of the struggle with Babylon was altered; and it may well be that Hammurabi was conducting campaigns in the north against Rim-Sin during years which were not marked by any campaign in Babylonia. Bound by his circumstances to drive Rim-Sin from Ashur, the Babylonian king may have found useful allies in the old Assyrian royal house, and in the sympathies of the people. Hammurabi says in the prologue to the Code that he returned "its favourable bull-colossus to the city of Ashur": he had, in other words, some claim to be considered a restorer of the old régime after an usurpation. The issue of this struggle in the north in Hammurabi's favour may have given him the opportunity once again to meet Rim-Sin in Babylonia and finally to conquer him.

The assumption, therefore, that Rim-Sin of Larsa and Rim-Sin of Assyria are one and the same person can be made to accord with Babylonian history. That does not prove that the identification is correct; on the other hand, a case for the identification is established. Until some decisive proof is forthcoming in this matter, the possibility that the Elamite house usurped the sovereignty of Assyria must be admitted; but it cannot be asserted to be an historical fact. How considerable the question is may best be seen from a consideration of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis.[4] That chapter records the subjection of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, the Zeboiim and Bela (Zoar) to Chedorla'omer king of Elam for twelve years, a revolt in the thirteenth year, the reprisals of Chedorla'omer, accompanied by Amraphel king of Shin'ar, Arioch king of Ellasar, and Tid'al king of the Goiim. In the course of the campaign Chedorla-'omer smote the Rephaim, the Zuzim, the Emim and the Horites in Palestine, turned back northwards to Kadesh and smote the Amalekites and those Amorites that dwelt in Hazazon-tamar, and finally overcame the five rebellious kings in the vale of Siddim. Owing to the plundering of Sodom, Lot, the nephew of Abram the Hebrew, was carried away into captivity; Abram thereupon intervened, delivered a night attack

in the territory of Dan on the victorious Elamite, and pursued the fugitive enemy to a point north of Damascus. On the assumption that this story has a basis in fact, that it is an historical tradition written down at a late date but derived from early material, the mention of a Chedorla'omer king of Elam in connection with Amraphel king of Shin'ar and Arioch king of Ellasar has led many scholars to consider that some such historical event took place in the time of Kudur-Mabug, Rim-Sin, and Hammurabi. Others, however, have pointed out that this chapter is in itself suspect, it may be a late *midrash*, based not upon an historical tradition but upon an interpretation of history of a late date. Furthermore, Warad-Sin and Rim-Sin of Larsa were opposed by Hammurabi, and it is difficult to suppose that they were ever united to support a king of Elam. Of late, a new view has found in the Amraphel of this chapter an historical counterpart of the king of Ḫana, Ḫammurapiḫ, who belongs to a much later date than Hammurabi, and in Tid'al the historical Dudḫaliash, king of the Hittites; the difficulty which confronts this view is the mention in the chapter of the separate kingdom of Ellasar. If Ellasar be not Larsa, what is it? If it be Larsa, then the only possible historical period is the one now under consideration. The question is now generally avoided by cautious scholars, and it must be admitted that it is incapable of solution on the evidence at present available. The late Professor King held that though a confederation under the leadership of Elam was not recorded in Babylonian documents, "the Hebrew record represents a state of affairs in Western Asia which was not impossible during the earlier half of Hammurabi's reign." To this, notning can yet be added. There is still the possibility that during the period of the dominance of the house of Emutbal at Larsa, at the time when Rim-Sin held Ashur, Hammurabi was compelled by circumstances to join his natural enemies in a campaign against the kings of the West. There is the further possibility—even the probability, in view of the historical situation—that for some fourteen years the most important

princes of Syria were tributary to the kings of Larsa.

Though, then, doubt is possible as to the exact course of events, it is probable that Rim-Sin of Larsa secured in the lifetime of his father Kudur-Mabug an ascendancy over Assyria which may possibly have extended westwards. In Assyria he assumed the monarchy and expelled the royal family. Hammurabi of Babylon, posing as the protector of that royal family, fought his enemy in the north, gained the victory, and became the suzerain of Ashur; this probably preceded his ultimate conquest in Babylonia.

The suzerainty of Hammurabi, attested by one of his letters and the wording of the prœmium to the code of laws, introduces a difficulty as to the Assyrian king list. In the list the successor of Rim-Sin is named Erishum (the second) and after that name in one fragment there was a line, which generally marks a break in the direct succession. According to one interpretation this list would demand an interpretation of history rather different from that outlined above; Rim-Sin's reign at Ashur, so it has been assumed, lasted until his final fall in Babylonia. Then an independent prince, Erishum II, maintained independence until Hammurabi asserted a supremacy which continued during part of the reign of Samsu-iluna.[5] This Babylonian domination of about twenty-five years is, it is supposed, represented by the line in the list. Against this view is the phrase used by Hammurabi to the effect that he "returned the favourable bull-colossus," which implies that he could pose as a restorer of the city of Ashur after a foreign domination; the line in the list must be due to the breach in the legitimate succession caused by the rise of Shamshi-Adad I to the throne. In this connection it should be noted that Hammurabi's letter does not prove more than that he once had some troops stationed at Ashur; it does not prove that there was a regular garrison continually there. There are two alternatives which seem preferable to the view stated; Erishum II may be either the vassal of Hammurabi, reinstated by him when Rim-Sin was expelled, and a faithful

subordinate, or Hammurabi may in fact have withdrawn altogether once his principal object had been attained, and left Ashur under an independent prince. This whole question is necessarily obscure and no certainty can be felt about it. It should be noted that a prince Shamshi-Adad, by whom (in addition to the Babylonian king himself) an oath was sworn in the tenth year of Hammurabi, cannot be identified with Shamshi-Adad I of the Assyrian king list without introducing serious chronological difficulties.[6] Though the name is Assyrian in character, it may be that this Shamshi-Adad was a prince of a district on the Euphrates.

Whatever the position of Erishum may have been, the storm that had broken over the country in the time of Rim-Sin and Hammurabi is symptomatic of the difficulties that the geographical position of Assyria brought upon the Assyrian people. In the east there were well-organised hill-peoples, who themselves dominated large cities situated on the trade-routes leading to the east. To the west, there were peoples in the Euphrates valley, for the most part directly under Babylonian domination, but some independent, equally well organised and interested in trade. Unless the rulers of Ashur—or rather by this time of the land of Assyria—could secure an equal efficiency and might in arms, then the country would be continually overrun by princes anxious to extend their control of the caravan routes. The danger from the east was the more immediate and pressing. The peoples in the west were not in fact so much concerned to dominate Ashur as to control and deflect the caravans from the north-west. Though the threat from the west was less urgent, it was none the less vital for Assyria that it should be met. The existence of the great cities produced an economic demand impossible to satisfy if the caravans were stayed at the cities on the Euphrates, or were excessively taxed on their way. The disturbed condition of the western lands was not entirely due to the princes of isolated city-states. There were peoples on the move; bands of individuals were ready to enlist in

any service provided they were maintained, while the main stock preserved a semi-independence comparable to that of the 'Anaizah tribe in modern times. The best picture of the times, so far as Syria is concerned, is still that given by the Biblical account of Abraham the Hebrew; an account in which the Hebrews are curiously parallel to, or the same people as, the Ḫabiru of various cuneiform texts.[7] The disturbing questions which arise from this parallelism must be carefully considered because in the partial information available there is concealed some historic fact.

There were in Babylonia at the time of Rim-Sin and later men called *Ḫabirai* engaged apparently as troops, at the disposal of the king; some of them are described as *ridu*, a kind of police and subordinate military officer. At a later period there were similarly men engaged in the Hittite service, perhaps as soldiers, described as *Ḫabiru*. They were in the fourteenth century an important political factor, for "the gods of the *Ḫabiru*" are continually invoked in the treaties of that period; and "the god Ḫabiru" is mentioned as one of the ten gods in the temple of Adad in a list of gods drawn up in Assyria. In the correspondence of the Palestinian governors with the Egyptian Pharaoh Amenophis IV, the heretic Akhnaton, these same *Ḫabiru* appear as plundering bands who were invading Palestine and settling there, particularly in the district of Hebron. There were still Ḫabiru in the desert west of Babylonia in the time of Nebuchadrezzar I. A not inconsiderable number of men and women, with names belonging to various languages, described as Ḫabiru, were selling themselves into slavery in the district of Arraphа east of Tigris in the fifteenth century. The general parallel to the Biblical story of Abram who left Ur of the Chaldees for Harran, where his father died, then went to the district of the cities of the plain, where his nephew Lot left him, and finally "dwelt by the oaks of Mamre, which are in Hebron," is so clear that it cannot be avoided; the presence of Abram's descendants in the desert is expressly explained in the book of Genesis. On this

general similarity the greatest emphasis must be laid, because that is the decisive point. To this must be added the phonetic equivalence of the consonants in *Ḫabiru* and the Hebrew *'Ibhrî*. It is no longer easy to doubt that the story of Abram (Abraham) the Hebrew sums up the tribal history of a part the *Ḫabiru* if the circumstances of his life are considered broadly. A typical nomad, he is able to wander from one place to the other; possessed of great flocks, he avoids the crowded industrial areas whose religion and civilisation he regards with horror, though he thereby loses the adherence of an important section of his family, headed by Lot; a leader of men capable of effective military action, he intervenes in great wars and is able to force his presence upon the local princes of Palestine, who dare not resist his demands.

The explanation of the name *Ḫabiru*, *'Ibhrî* is attended by considerable difficulties. In later times the Jews interpreted *'Ibhrî* as meaning "he from across the river," and saw in it an allusion to the origin of the Hebrew people; but it is by no means certain that this is the true meaning. A name containing these consonants was almost sure to receive such an explanation in the end; originally the word need not have been derived from the root meaning "to cross." If this people brought the name *Ḫabiru* with them into Palestine the change of the initial consonant would follow a regular law of sound changes. As to the vowel changes, that is a matter of linguistic refinement which is of uncertain explanation, in spite of valiant attempts. Supposing that *Ḫabiru* represents the original name of this people most closely, scholars have still been unable to agree as to the nature of the word. In the cuneiform writing they are frequently mentioned in the disguised form of an ideogram which means "robbers," and some see in the word *Ḫabiru* an appellative, not a gentilic. The certainty with which this view has been put forward is in reality deceptive. The form *Ḫabirai* in the old Babylonian documents should mean "men of the town or district *Ḫabir*," and *Ḫabir* is a very possible name for a place in the desert west of Babylonia, the

b representing an Arabic *f*. An Aramaic document of the late seventh century mentions a town *Ḫafiru* in the extreme south of Babylonia, in the desert: and Yâqût describes the place as lying west of the modern Basrah. It is possible, then, that the *Ḫabiru* derived their name from a small district in the desert immediately west of Babylonia. That *Ḫabiru* is an appellative and the form *Ḫabirai* an error is at present no more than an alternative, but possible, view.

As to their personal names, the circumstance that in the time of Rim-Sin and later some of them bore Elamite names is instructive rather as showing the practice of the time in adopting names than as a proof of Elamite origin. The servile position of the Ḫabiru is to be compared with that of the Amurru, and the change of names arose from the same causes.

How came men of this people into the service of Rim-Sin? Why did they leave southern Babylonia for the north? Why did they serve the Hittite kings in Asia Minor? It is not possible to dismiss such questions by regarding these men as mercenaries, ready to sell their arms to the highest bidder, because there is no proof that Babylonian or indeed Hittite kings employed mercenaries. The manner in which the armies of the ancient East were recruited was different from that adopted in Egypt from the time of the third Rameses. A town, district, or tribe was reduced and then a quota of the man-power was called upon yearly either for military service or forced labour. The passing of the Ḫabiru from the service of Rim-Sin and of the Kassite kings of Babylonia to that of the Hittites definitely implies that they moved from southern Babylonia northwards, that they left the Babylonian sphere of influence for Syria, where they were for a time under the suzerainty of the kings of Asia Minor. They came into the service of Rim-Sin because, during the time when his house securely held and embellished the great trade centre at Ur, they became subject to the Larsa kings. The reason for their leaving at some time subsequent to his fall, save for a remnant who stayed behind, is to some extent explained by recent excavations on the site of

Ur. When that city passed from the hands of the last king of the house of Yamutbal into those of the kings of Babylon, the prosperity of the city began to pass away. Hammurabi set up a stone monument with an inscription which perhaps recorded his victories, and certainly was the token of his suzerainty, in the temple of the consort of the moon-god.[8] In the time of his son, Samsu-iluna, Ur joined in the general revolt which commenced in the twelfth year of that king. From that time until late in the Kassite period no king troubled to build at Ur, and the dearth of the city must have been considerable. The reason is not difficult to understand. On the one hand, the activity of the kings of Babylon in linking up the Euphrates at Babylon with the old canal systems in the centre of the country must have diverted a considerable amount of the river trade from the straight course down the river. On the other hand, the head of the Persian Gulf was continually receding, and only a vigorous administration could have secured the clearing of a passage from Ur to the sea. The great trade centre was now out of date, and the movement of the *Ḫabiru*-Hebrews may not unreasonably be connected with this fact.

The *Ḫabiru* can have been only one branch, though doubtless they were a very important branch, of this movement. Peoples on the move northwards must have perpetually threatened, and sometimes cut, Assyrian communications with the west along the middle Euphrates. But the settled populations in the Euphrates valley also played their part in these confused times. It has been seen that Mari was now ruled by men whose names are closely akin to those of the First Dynasty kings. The history of Mari is obscure. Puzur-Ishtar, the son of Tura-Dagan, a governor of Mari, was a contemporary of Ibi-Sin of Ur; his statue,[9] found at Babylon, was carried away by Nabopolassar during his war with the Assyrians (Plate XIII). The men with pronouncedly "Western Semitic" names may have entered the country during the earlier struggles of Isin and Larsa. By the time of Samsu-iluna intrigue was rife in Mari, though the overlordship

PLATE XIII

STATUE DEDICATED BY PUZUR-ISHTAR, GOVERNOR OF MARI, ABOUT 2150 B.C., AND HIS BROTHER. FROM BABYLON. Figure in Constantinople Museum. Head in Berlin Museum. (By kind permission of Halil Bey. Director of the Osmanli Museum, Constantinople.) See p. 194.

of the Babylonian king was admitted. A document of about this period [10] reveals the state of affairs in the Euphrates lands immediately north of Babylonia. The trouble began in the district of Suḫi, that is the territory round 'Anah. The wording of this missive is so instructive that it is given here.

"As you know, my lord, when Sin-iqisham, the *šapir* officer of the land Suḫi dwelt in the fortress of Suḫi, Zimri-edda, son of Dadu-rabi, sent word to his brothers, his sons and the sons of the people of his god, that they should cause the land to revolt. Although his messengers were unable to make any one revolt for three months, Zimri-Ḫammu the son of Napsu-nandara listened to his orders and the orders of his sons. These words were put on his lips; he said, 'I will surely fill the Euphrates with skulls, and the horse-stables I will surely . . .' This speech of his, which he spoke at that time—Yadiri, the son of Issi-Dagan and six sons of Ḫanat told Zimri-Ḫanata the *aklu* official of the Amorites that they had heard this speech on his lips. Zimri-Ḫanata the *aklu* official of the Amorites brought that speech to Sin-iqisham, the *šapir* officer of the land Suḫi. Sin-iqisham, the *šapir* officer of Suḫi, sent word that that fellow Zimri-Ḫammu and his witnesses should be brought to him. After those words had been proven in the assembly, they took them to the temple of Yabliya for proof; after they established these words in the temple of Yabliya, the officer Sin-iqisham entrusted him to a guard. [Large gap]. As to their former transgression, they did not avoid or fear his utterance. When they spoke, they said, 'Won't you . . . about this speech? What is your reward at Babylon, that shall repay you? And as to us whom you put under restraint for transgression, who has persecuted (?) (*i.e.* can possibly persecute) our number (*i.e.* so many)?' When they said this and were extremely violent, no one restrained them; they were of one accord. And when their . . . was not heard (with favour), they withdrew the pledge of our ancestral estate (*i.e.* they no longer guaranteed protection to certain Babylonians). Now last year

they had . . . afresh the shrine of Marduk who loves you, that is beside Sumu-Dagan and the estate of the sons of Baḫli-el, so that there might be no complaints. Gimil-Marduk inspired his brother Yashdi-Ḫammu to support these fugitives who returned from the district of Mari, he sent word to them. They were of one accord, and pulled down the shrine of Marduk, who loves you, and they destroyed the boundary-marks. Would that our lord would put things right for us! A run-away evil-doer should not establish his might over us, and . . . and we ought not to go before them (*i.e.* where they drive us). Our mind turns to you, our lord, as though you were Shamash and Marduk who loves you. Let us make mention with praise of the glorious name of our lord; and he that is shameful shall be ashamed before us. In the presence of Shamash and Marduk let us make our petition to you, our lord."

The wording of the document leaves no doubt that, though there is no formal address and no greetings such as are usual, this was a dispatch to the Babylonian king from one of the towns on the Euphrates. The writers were Babylonians settled in the town, which was in the district administered by the governor of Suḫi. The position revealed is one of increasing disregard for the Babylonian officers by the local sheikhs, all of whom have "West Semitic" names, until finally they even mocked him while themselves imprisoned. Above all, they refused to recognise their previous pledges to safeguard Babylonians, their lives and property, and, though previously obliged to respect the shrine of Marduk which was the external mark of Babylonian domination, now destroyed it. The occasions upon which the cuneiform records allow a close view of such processes of disintegration are very rare, and this document is the clearest evidence of the process by which Hammurabi's kingdom fell to pieces we possess.

The document also derives a certain interest from the mention of Yadiri, the son of Issi-Dagan, and his attitude. Issi-Dagan,[11] as has been revealed by the impression of a seal on a jar-sealing found at Ashur,

was the *šakkanakku*, the native governor, of Mari. His son, Yadiri, takes measures that lead to the principal Babylonian officer being informed of contemplated treachery; but he is apparently unwilling to communicate directly, he employs a subordinate Babylonian official, probably owing to caution, the desire to sit on the fence till the winning party was known. Clearly, however, Yadiri favoured the Babylonians; the ruler of a province was unwilling to see Suḫi lost without a blow to Babylon, because that in the end meant trouble for him. It is not impossible that the governor or king in Assyria held views exactly similar to those of Yadiri.

Such appeals as were made by the writers of the document to the king were, however, vain. Samsu-iluna, though he appears to have made a bold fight, had to face forces whose pressure he could not for ever resist. In his reign the marsh-lands at the head of the Persian Gulf became a separate kingdom under Iluma-ilum, who was able periodically to invade northern Babylonia. The Euphrates lands probably did not break away finally till the end of his reign; by that time the kings of Babylon did not exert so much influence as Sin-muballiṭ had done. Under his successors, Abi-eshu' and Ammi-ditana, the confusion was again complete.

What exactly happened at Ashur during this period? Our only sources of information are the king-list and the approximate chronology of the time. Between Erishu II, contemporary with Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna, roughly therefore about 1930–1900, and Shamshi-Adad I, roughly dated about 1840–1800, there is a gap of over half a century; to fill this, the king list has merely a line between the names. The line need not mean more than that the legitimate succession was broken after Erishu II, an assumption which is supported by the fact which may be deduced from the inscriptions that Shamshi-Adad's father was Irikapkapu. There were two or three kings' names lost at this point,[12] as some have suggested; and it may be that the troubles of the period were such that foreign princelings from the Euphrates valley

imposed their rule; a possibility not to be forgotten in view of the seal-impression of Issi-Dagan at Ashur. The early half of the nineteenth century remains, then, wrapt in darkness so far as Assyria is concerned.

In the second half of the century a very considerable figure appeared upon the scene in Assyria, if all the inscriptions relating to the Anu-Adad temple and the Enlil temple at Ashur are really to be attributed to Shamshi-Adad I, the son of Irikapkapu,[13] as seems most probable, though a decisive proof is still lacking. The man clearly did not belong to the royal family, as appears from his father's name, and the fact that no claim is made to be the direct descendant of previous kings mentioned in his inscriptions. Irikapkapu, to judge from the component *iri*, is a Subaraean name; it does not necessarily follow that the man was a pure Subaraean. By this time the Subaraeans and Assyrians must have intermarried fairly freely, and the choice of names in these circumstances is far more capricious than modern scholarship allows. But if Shamshi-Adad sprang from a family of mixed origin, he probably rose by force of character to the proud position he finally held. The extent of his conquests is only known to us by casual references in the accounts of buildings restored or erected by him;[14] an equally convincing testimony is afforded by a tablet from Tall 'Ashârah on the Euphrates near Dair-az-Zûr, the site of the ancient city of Tirqa, the capital of the later kingdom of Ḫana, recording his building of a temple to Dagan there. The circumstances under which Shamshi-Adad conquered this district are obscure; the effect, namely the control of the Euphrates caravan road, is obvious. That control resulted in prosperity in Assyria, duly noted by the king. "When I built the temple of Enlil, my lord," he says, "the current price of my city (2 kors of grain for 1 shekel of silver, 15 minas of wool for 1 shekel of silver, 2 seahs of oil for 1 shekel of silver) was paid according to the current price of my city, Ashur." Other kings made a similar boast: Singashid of Erech,[15] who, if not the contemporary of Shamshi-Adad, was but little earlier or later, claims

that in the time of his sovereignty 3 kors of corn, 12 minas of wool, 3 seahs of oil cost a silver shekel each. Compared with the prices regularly found in First Dynasty documents, Shamshi-Adad's prices are but the half, Sin-gashid's a little more than a third. Various views have been expressed about these kings' statements. Some believe that both Shamshi-Adad and Sin-gashid are expressing rather a pious wish than an historical fact; but this theory does not accord with the form of Shamshi-Adad's statement. Others believe that Shamshi-Adad attempted to introduce a maximum price in order to protect the poor. Yet others again, with the curious faculty for considering any and every statement false which characterises a certain school, believe that Shamshi-Adad's prices hardly corresponded to reality, but were intended to give documentary proof, by their lowness, only of the prosperous rule of the king.[15] Shamshi-Adad was probably reporting, as his words imply, an historic fact. At a certain time in his reign the combination of various factors—his control of the caravan routes, the recent tribute from conquered princes, and the circumstances of a festival at which the king dispensed royal largesse—led to such a fall in market prices as was recorded by Ashurbanipal twelve hundred years later.

The view that Shamshi-Adad conquered Ḫana is not necessarily correct on the present evidence. It is conceivable that he was a prince of Ḫana before he was Ashur's "tenant-farmer," for he mentions Dagan, the local god of the Ḫana district, before his other titles. Some confirmation of this might be seen in the fact that he named his son Ishme-Dagan, a name apparently common for families from the west of the Euphrates. The history of the period does not suffer a radical change from this second point of view; Shamshi-Adad created for himself a kingdom of considerable extent by the sword.

The extent of Shamshi-Adad's adventures, which led him both east and west, must be judged at present from his meagre statement. At the time of the founding of the temple of Enlil, he received the tribute of

the kings of Tukrish " and the upper land " at Ashur, and set up a memorial stele in the district of Laban, beside the great sea. Tukrish seems to have been situated between Elam and Marḫashi. This implies a very considerable extension of Assyrian power towards the south-east. The prince of this highland district would hardly have paid tribute unless the intervening territories also had been compelled to admit the suzerainty of Shamshi-Adad. The " upper land " is doubtless meant to include therefore the princes in the Zagros hills whose lands stretched from the south-eastern border of Assyria to Elamite territory. Some doubt is permissible on the point because in an inscription of Sargon of Agade " the upper land " refers to Mari, Yarimuta, Ibla, " the cedar forest " and " the silver mountain," that is Syria, Amanus, and the Taurus region. An expression like " the upper land " is necessarily so vague as always to permit of these variant interpretations. In the west, Shamshi-Adad set up a stele in " Laban, beside the great sea," unquestionably the Mediterranean, though the Black Sea has been considered a certain identification.[16] There is another view, equally unacceptable, that Laban is the Lebanon, and that " beside the great sea " refers to another stele, a view which implies an unlikely omission of the copula. The truth is, more probably, that the adjective *Labnanu* derives from the substantive name *Laban* which originally applied only to a small coast area in that region. The precise significance of this erection of a memorial stele in the present instance is not absolutely clear. Shamshi-Adad may have marched to the coast without subduing all the territories through which he marched, as Ashurnaṣirpal did in 876 B.C. It is, however, difficult to conceive that the Assyrian would have ventured so far unless he were assured of a safe retreat; in all probability he had garrisons stationed all along the Euphrates, and possibly even farther west. His dominion, then, from west to east, was a very considerable one, which may be compared to that of the third Ashurnaṣirpal, and it is noteworthy that he is the first Assyrian king known to have called himself

šur kiššati, the favourite title of the kings of the Agade dynasty and their successors. Around this title speculation has built some very considerable hypotheses; such assumptions depend upon the view that the title arose from a definite local domination, an assumption which may or may not be correct. The latest theory of this type is, that *šar kiššati* implies the rulership of Mesopotamia.[17]

With Shamshi-Adad an epoch closed. No Babylonian king again was able, to our knowledge, to hold the town of Ashur as his own; though Kassite kings spoke of the Assyrian as a vassal, there is no proof that the northern land was ever considered a province as it once had been. Assyria had, in fact, proved equal to the very considerable tasks imposed of necessity upon her by the failure of any one of the contending dynasties of Babylonia to hold sway along the great trade routes. After the Third Dynasty of Ur fell, Sargon I of Assyria met the needs of his land by establishing his authority along the trade route to Cilicia. Recovering from the shock of attacks from east and west again at the end of the nineteenth century, the land was restored to prosperity by a man presumably of mixed origin, who left Assyria a considerable power.

The period of over three centuries which has been considered in this chapter was a time of political development. The divisions within Babylonia precluded the possibility of the establishment of an empire which should reduce Western Asia to a state of complete subordination in the manner of a later time. In consequence of this lack of a unified control, strange and sometimes unknown peoples gained entry to Mesopotamia, Syria, perhaps even Palestine. Of such a period it is unlikely that the records will ever afford a full account. Yet in spite of internal troubles, Babylonia was not stagnant at this period, and the development and influence of Babylonian culture during these centuries must not be underestimated. Not only were the scribes busily at work copying ancient texts; there was a very considerable output of new and important literary work. There is a tendency

to regard the whole of the extensive religious literature that centres round the figure of Marduk as having been written or recast under the First Dynasty; this view is probably, at least in part, correct. Augural and mathematical texts of the same period attest the activity of the priestly schools. The effects of this activity were, roughly speaking, the transformation and re-shaping, with some additions, of the Sumerian and Akkadian inheritance into a new form, the Babylonian; and it is specially this new form that influenced the whole of Western Asia. The Hittites of Asia Minor, the Canaanites of Palestine were alike in possession of copies of Babylonian texts first written down between 2100 and 1800 B.C. The exact period when this influence spread is one of the great unsolved problems of ancient history; for the present it must be sufficient to recognise that the clay tablet and cuneiform writing had been borrowed much earlier, the wherewithal of writing therefore favoured the spread of Babylonian literature, which need not have occurred at a time when a Babylonian king was able to impose his supremacy over an extended realm. In sum, though nationalities and groups were developing, there was an average standard of civilisation and culture derived from Babylon throughout Western Asia. Some places may have been without culture, different towns may have varied in the degree of influence shown. The broad fact is not to be doubted. During this period, then, in spite of the changed circumstances, civilisation in the north and west continued to derive some main elements from the river valleys, as it had done under the dynasty of Ur.

It is a misfortune that the material remains do not at present allow the archaeologist to trace the course of cultural growth and change by the convincing evidence of material objects. Within Babylonia itself the remains of this period are extremely scanty. The seal-cylinders of the time would have an interesting story to reveal, could that story be read out of the designs more clearly. The introduction of many amuletic themes, conventionally treated, into the normal subjects of earlier periods, has been traced,

with some reason, to Western influences; but the matter is by no means proved beyond doubt, and much depends upon relative dating—notoriously insecure. In general, perhaps, there is a probability that the dwarf, the ape, the little naked goddess and the god Amurru were introduced into Babylonian glyptic at this time, and these themes may have come from the West. If the material from Babylonia itself is scanty, that from without is almost entirely lacking. A rare, occasional find merely reveals the possibilities of what may still turn up. Thus in a tholos ossuary at Platanos, near Gortyna, in Crete, Dr. Xanthudides has found a cylinder seal of haematite, unquestionably of Babylonian workmanship, not earlier than the reign of Hammurabi.[18] In that same ossuary there were found Egyptian scarabs (not, as has been stated, Minoan imitations) of an early Twelfth Dynasty class. The date, then, of the seal cannot be much later than 1900 B.C. on the Egyptian side; on the Babylonian side, it cannot be placed more than half a century before that date. The object belongs, then, to the years 1950–1900 B.C. That the seal came to Crete by way of a sea-coast traffic from Syria there need be little doubt; and the object was hardly alone and unique of its class in Crete. Some trade then there was between Western Asia and the Mediterranean island which was then the home and centre of "Aegean" culture, though that trade was not so constant or considerable as that between Egypt and Crete. There is, of course, an alternative to Syria as the point of connection, namely Asia Minor; for the western coast of Asia Minor is known to have been

FIG. 16.

Impression of a seal from a tholos at Platanos, near Gortyna, in Crete. Found by Dr. Xanthudides. Date about 1950–1900 B.C. (After Sir A. Evans, *Palace of Minos*, Vol. I, p. 197.) See p. 203.

in close connection with Crete slightly earlier. But of Asia Minor west of Cilicia we know nothing of importance at this time, and it can hardly be shown that a trade route for Babylonian goods was then open.

The break-up of the Babylonian domination had taught the Assyrians the necessity and possibility of independence from the south, whence only sporadic tyranny could now be expected, and also of sufficient military power to control the eastern trade route down to the south along the Tigris, and the western trade along the Euphrates. With the achievements of Shamshi-Adad I the principal directions in which future endeavours must lie were finally determined.

CHAPTER XIII

THE HITTITE CONFEDERATION, THE KASSITES AND THE HYKSOS

SHAMSHI-ADAD was followed by three kings who were apparently in the natural line of succession. One king-list shows a line after the third, Rimush, and there is good reason to believe that this line marks the advent of a usurper, Adasi, given in another king-list. This is in accord with a legitimate deduction from the inscriptions of later kings. Adad-nirari III, who ruled Assyria from 811–783 B.C., claimed to be "the descendant of Enlil (or Bel ?)—kapkapi, the previous king who preceded me, before the kingship of Sulili, whose position Ashur named of old." But Esarhaddon, whose grandfather had wrested the kingship from the descendant of Adad-nirari says that he was "of the eternal royal seed of Bel-ibni, the son of Adasi, who established the kingship of Assyria." Adad-nirari's claim is still obscure; there is as yet no Enlil-kapkapi known in the king-list, and the dating by Sulili does not help, for that name also does not occur as that of a royal person, unless Sumu-la-ilu be intended. If Enlil-kapkapi be by any chance a misreading of Iri-kapkapu, then Adad-nirari has erred in his dating. But Esarhaddon's genealogy was doubtless intended to prove a claim to the throne as legitimate as that of Adad-nirari and rival to it, and thus base the position of the Sargonids; they came of an old stock which had in distant ages ejected the ancestors of their former rivals.

Either Bel-ibni or his father is said by Esarhaddon to have "established the kingship of Assyria"; and it may well be that one of these two first assumed the title "King of Assyria." Shamshi-Adad himself had

TABLE 5.—COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF WESTERN ASIA FROM ABOUT 1750–1340.

	ASSYRIA.	BABYLONIA.			HITTITES.	MESOPOTAMIA.	EGYPT.	
				Sea-Land (*ctd.*)				
1760—				Damqi-ilishu.				—1760
1750—	Shi-Ninua.	Kassites.			Tabarnash.			—1750
	Sharma-Adad II.	(*Ashur List*).	(*King List A.*)		Ḫattushilish I.			
1740—					Murshilish I, s. of T.			—1740
1730—		Gandash.	Gandash.	—Ishkibal.	Ḫantilish (? b.-in-law of M.)			—1730
	Irishum III.	—Agum, S.	Agum.					
1720—				Susshi.	Zidantash I (usurper)			—1720
	Shamshi-Adad II.							
1710—					Ammunash (usurper).			—1710
1700—	Ishme-Dagan II, s.	Kashtiliash.	Kashtiliash.		Ḫuzziyash I (usurper).			—1700
1690—				Gulkishar.				—1690
1680—	Shamshi-Adad III, s.		Ushshi, s.		Telibinush.			—1680
1670—	Ashur-nirari I, s., 26 yrs.	Abirattash.	—Abirattash.		Alluwamnas			—1670
1660—	[Puzur-Sin, s. of Ashur-bel-shame, g.-s. of Shamshi-Adad III]	Kashtiliash.						—1660
1650—		Tazzigurumash, s. of Abirattash						—1650
1640—	Puzur-Ashur III, s., 14 yrs.			Peshgaldaramash.				—1640
1630—		Ḫarba-Shipak.						—1630
1620—	Enlil-naṣir I, s.							—1620
1610—		Tiptakzi (?)						—1610
1600—	Nur-ili, s.							—1600
1590—				Adarakalama				—1590
1580—	Name uncertain.	Agum-[kak-rime], s. of Tazzigurumash.					Aḥmose	—1580
1570—								—1570
1560—	Ashur-nirari II, b.	[name missing]		Akurulana			Amenhotep I.	—1560
1550—		Burnaburiash I						—1550

1520		Ulamburiash, b.	—Ea-gamil.			Thothmes II. — 1520
1510						— 1510
1500	Enlil-naṣir II.	[Agum ?]				Hatshepsut Thothmes III. — 1500
1490						— 1490
1480	Ashur-rabi I.					— 1480
1470						— 1470
1460	Ashur-nirari III, s.					— 1460
1450		Kurigalzu I 1415			Ḫurri and Mitanni.	— 1450
1440	Ashur-bel-nisheshu. s.	[Karaindash[1]			Saushshatar.	Amenhotep II. — 1440
1430		Burna-buriash II				— 1430
1420	Ashur-rim-nisheshu, b.	[Kadashman-Ḫarbe.[2]		Dudḫaliash II	Artatama, s.	— 1420
1410				Arnuwandas I		Thothmes IV. — 1410
1400	Ashur-nadin-aḫḫe.	[Kurigalzu, s. II		Ḫattushilish II.	Shuṭarna, s.	Amenhotep III. — 1400
1390	Eriba-Adad I. s. of A.-bel-nisheshu.	[Kadashman-Enlil I.[2]		Tudḫaliyas III Shubbiluliu, s.		— 1390
1380	Ashur-uballiṭ, s.				Artatama, s. Dushratta, s. 1390	— 1380
1370		[Burnaburiash (*Bab. Chron.*)	(*Syn. Hist.*)			Amenhotep IV. — 1370
1360		Karaindash I Kadashman-Ḫarbe I	Karaḫardash	Arnuandash, s., II abt. 1353	Shutarna Mattiuaza, s. of D.	Smenkhkere — Tutankhamen — 1360
1350		Shuzigash Kurigalzu, II s. of Kadashman-Ḫarbe.	Nazibugash Kurigalzu, s. of Burnaburiash	Murshilish II., b., abt. 1352		Ai — 1350
1340	Enlil-narari, s.					— 1340

NOTE.—For the use of this table see note on No. 4. No attempt has been made to reconcile the different sources of evidence for the Kassites. Those names which are enclosed in square brackets are derived from the 'Amarnah letters, boundary stones, and other documents. As it has not yet proved possible to arrange the names in an order that satisfies all the conditions, the positions of the names on this scale is provisional, and for information only. The relative position of the early Hittite kings is extremely uncertain.

[1] This king, or one of the same name, was a contemporary of Amenophis (Amenhotep) III.

[2] That these two kings cannot be identified was finally proved by King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones*, pp. 3 ff., *History of Babylon*, p. 241; the erroneous identification reappears in Bilabel, *Geschichte I.*

not used that title. He had, indeed, been "the king of hosts (*šar kiššati*), Enlil's governor, Dagan's worshipper, Ashur's tenant-farmer." Esarhaddon's words do not allow of any precise explanation of the significance of this change in the title. A more interesting observation may be made upon the name Adasi. It has already been seen that Shamshi-Adad's father bore a non-Semitic, probably Subaraean, name. Adasi also is not Semitic. Two families, then, ruled in turn, which originally used proper names betraying an alien element in the population; on their accession to power, Semitic names were adopted. There could be no clearer proof of the mixed nature of the population, and of the aristocratic temper of the Semitic element. Adasi and Bel-ibni were followed, according to the same king-list, by five other kings; of these, three bear names which indicate their racial origin, and are not proper names in the ordinary sense. The first of them, Lubai, is of uncertain reading; he was succeeded by two kings whose names are of a regular Assyrian type, and these two may accordingly have been legitimate heirs of Lubai. There then occur the names Bazai and Lullai,[1] that is "the man of Bazu" and "the man of Lullu." Two places named Bazu or Baṣu are known. One was a town on the Euphrates mentioned in the inscriptions of Manishtusu and Hammurabi; the other is a district far east of Assyria which was attacked by Adad-nirari II and Esarhaddon. Considerations of date make it more probable that the "man of Bazu" came from the town on the Euphrates. "The man of Lullu" may possibly stand for an inhabitant of the district called the land of the Lullumi or Lullubi, which lay round Seripul (Ḥulwan). The impression derived from this list is that the accession of Adasi marked the beginning of a period of confusion, when men of Subaraean and foreign extraction contended for supremacy in a leaderless land.

This impression is confirmed by the divergence between the king-lists. Since one list fails to mention these kings altogether, it has been reasonably conjectured[1] that the difference in the king-lists "goes

back to struggles between rival dynasties." Exactly the correct explanation of their chronology is a different and more difficult matter. It is hardly conceivable that these kings were able to maintain themselves as rivals of Shamshi-Adad I; but they may have opposed his successors. On the other hand, it is possible that there is no mention of them or their rivals in one list, the time being simply ignored.

The unsatisfactory state of our knowledge becomes increasingly evident when the information from Assyrian sources for the kings from Shi-Ninua[2] to Ashur-uballiṭ, twenty-one in number, is examined. Of these, nine have recorded building operations in inscriptions still extant; but there is no historical information to be gained from these inscriptions. We are in fact without any data for considering the history of Assyria from the end of the nineteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century, from internal sources, save for the tenuous account of the relations with Babylonia provided by the "Synchronous History." Yet external sources allow of a rough outline of the course of events in Western Asia in the districts most closely affecting Assyria, during a time when movements of different and rather inexplicable elements can just be distinguished. Since our information is derived principally from finds in Egypt and in Asia Minor, it is not unnatural that knowledge is at present confined to events in the west, more particularly Syria. The indirect information that may be gleaned from some business tablets found at Kirkuk is valuable rather for the study of ancient society than for historical purposes. The outline of the course of events serves roughly to show the main trend of Assyrian history, and is therefore valuable.

The last four kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon seem to have been entirely occupied with their struggle against the independent dynasty which had established itself in the district at the head of the Gulf. Then "in the time of" the eleventh king, "Samsu-ditana, the Hittites to Akkad . . .," as is recorded in the note of a chronicler,[3] which was by accident almost forgotten, and therefore inserted in an abbreviated form. The

entry is tantalising for two reasons: it does not name the Hittite king, and it does not inform us whether the Hittites captured Babylon at this time. There was an occasion when the Hittites did capture and plunder Babylon, for a record in the Hittite language [3] speaks of a campaign of Murshilish I, apparently the first Hittite king to reside at Ḫattushash, the modern Boghaz Keui. "He went to Ḫalpa (Aleppo) and destroyed Ḫalpa, and brought prisoners from Ḫalpa and their possessions to Ḫattushash. Thereafter he went to Babylon and destroyed Babylon, attacked also the Ḫurri, and kept the prisoners and possessions from Babylon at Ḫattushash." Were this Murshilish he who marched against Samsu-ditana, the earlier kings of the Hittites would be chronologically fixed; but this conclusion is by no means necessary from the evidence at present adduced, and the chronological arrangement can hardly be called probable since it leaves a gap of about two centuries in the Hittite records. There is another isolated historical fact which some have thought must be connected with the Hittite raid in Samsu-ditana's reign; the Kassite king Agum-kak-rime reports that he brought back from Ḫanî the statues of Marduk and his consort. The district here called Ḫanî is conceivably the district round Nisibis, later called Ḫanigalbat (or Ḫanirabbat); if Murshilish I was the conqueror of Babylon, it is conceivable that he deposited the statues from Babylon in Ḫanî, while conducting his campaign against the Ḫurri in the same year. But the statues of Marduk and his consort were very important booty, and the Hittite record states that the booty from Babylon was taken to Ḫattushash. It is, in short, impossible to feel confident that one and the same fall of Babylon is referred to in all three of these isolated statements; yet it is unlikely that that city was constantly captured by raids from the north-west, and it may be that in fact Murshilish I did invade Babylonia, capture Babylon, carry off prisoners and booty to Ḫattushash, but leave the statues of Marduk and the goddess in northern Mesopotamia.

If this be the manner in which events actually

befell, there were already active in Mesopotamia two peoples who ruled its destinies for many centuries, the Hittites and the Ḫurri. Of the history of the Hittites sufficient is now known to enable problems to be stated rather than affirmations to be made. The name "Hittite" is derived, in its modern usage, from the application of the term in the Bible and in the older Egyptian and Assyrian records. Originally used as a territorial term, to include any subjects of the "great kings" who ruled in Asia Minor from the fifteenth to the thirteenth century, it was later used generally of the people of mixed races derived from Asia Minor who founded petty principalities in Syria after the fall of the empire in Asia Minor. The term thus came to denote a group rather than a people, and in that sense it is still used. In Asia Minor, however, the term "Hittite" had a narrower significance, and referred to a particular linguistic element in the complex of languages which were spoken in that extensive area. The Hittite language was spoken by a people whose first known habitat may have been the district called by them Kushshar, the exact location of which is at present impossible. The language of this people appears to have had no relation to any other tongue spoken in the empire which subsequently arose; it is used only in certain ritual texts, and was probably by the fifteenth century a dead language, requiring commentary and translation. How this people came to give their names to a more important race which spoke an entirely different language remains a problem; many possible alternatives present themselves. The early line of great kings now called Hittite, which is headed by Tabarnash and ends with Murshilish I, belonged to this other people, the relation of whose speech to the languages of the Indo-European group can no longer be denied, though its exact nature may be disputed. Even the name of this language is unknown,[4] though the numerous documents couched in it have yielded the main trend of their sense, owing to the curious nature of the writing, which depends very largely on Sumerian ideograms and Semitic words. It may be that the people to whom this

language of the unknown name belongs regarded themselves as the natural descendants of the ancient people properly called Hittite, in the same way that an Englishman thinks himself the natural heir of the Briton; in fact, there must have been an invasion, of a considerable kind. Circumstances in Asia Minor led to a sudden extension in power of this second "Hittite" people. The raid into Babylonia in the time of Samsu-ditana, whether it be identical with the expedition in which Murshilish I captured Babylon or not, is significant of the state of affairs in Asia Minor. A new military power had suddenly arisen which was based on a kind of feudal aristocracy. Whereas in former ages it had been possible for Babylonian and Assyrian princes to draw largely upon the mineral wealth of Cilicia and Cappadocia, the time had now come when that wealth was directly subject to a power which used it to gain supremacy both in arms and in commerce, to be used for political ends.

The Ḫurri against whom Murshilish I conducted his expedition were destined to be the great rivals of the Hittites for many centuries, more especially in the struggle for Syria. The land of the Ḫurri certainly lay in the mountain ranges which stretch from the Euphrates to Lake Wân; but on the exact limits of their territory there is no agreement.[5] Some have assigned to them a spacious realm which stretched from Lake Wân to the borders of Pontus, and reached westwards to the Hittite boundary, while assuming that they gave their name to Harran; to the present writer it seems more probable at present that their original home was that land Ḫaria which Tiglathpileser I described as lying at the foot of the hills where the Euphrates debouches on to the plain. The speech of the Ḫurri was a dialect—not a very strongly marked dialect—of the Subaraean language; and there need be little doubt that the Ḫurri and the Subaraeans were closely connected in origin and blood as well as by language. The remarkable feature about the history of the Ḫurri is to be found in their emergence from the disorganised state in which the other Subaraean tribes continued; there was a special and immediate cause

which made this people capable of meeting and persistently resisting the Hittites. To the Indo-European element in the "Hittites," which was very strong, the achievements which led to the predominant position of that race in Asia Minor has already been attributed; there similarly appears amongst the Ḫurri during the second millennium B.C. an element which must provisionally be described as belonging to a civilisation distinctive of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European race.[6] This Indo-Iranian element, which was never numerous enough to affect the native dialect, can only be clearly traced by three means; firstly, by the names of the rulers of the Mitanni state, which was created and maintained by the Ḫurri nobles; secondly, by the fact that in the Mitanni treaty with the Hittites the deities Indar (Indra), the gods with Mitra (Mithra), the gods with Varuna, and Našatianna (the twins) are mentioned; and thirdly, by the use of certain Sanskrit words of a technical kind in a work concerned with chariot-racing or horse-training. The exact bearing of these facts upon ancient history can hardly yet be said to have been explored; and our ignorance of the whereabouts of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family is not really lessened by acute guesses based on the early religious works. In all probability the Indo-Iranian elements noted amongst the Ḫurri are to be explained as due to the intrusion of a small offshoot from a parent stock, which was able to impose its own military organisation upon a people which needed only organising ability to gain power. In part the military successes of the Ḫurri were doubtless due to the superior management of the horse, which from this time on played a capital part in warfare. The horse was certainly known in Babylonia as early as the time of Hammurabi; the omen texts which record the accidents that may befall a king when he ascends a chariot continually mention the horse, and these texts traditionally referred to Sargon of Agade, so that the Babylonians believed the horse was known so early as 2500 B.C. Prof. Langdon claims to have found a terracotta model of a horse of even earlier

date at Kish; but the shape permits of a doubt. The designation of the animal as "the mountain ass" has been justifiably thought to point to an introduction from the east, since "the mountains" intended can hardly be other than the eastern mountains. There is evidence in a seal impression on a Cappadocian tablet of the use of the four-horse chariot in Asia Minor at about 2100–1900 B.C (Plate VII, *b*). Cappadocian horses were indeed to become famous in subsequent ages. The superiority of the Ḫurri, who had a treatise on horse-training, over other peoples lay in their superior horse-mastership.[7]

This Indo-Iranian aristocracy which led the Ḫurri to success, spread itself for a time over the cities of Syria and the coast, and finally disappeared completely about the end of the thirteenth century. Efforts have been made to prove that the Assyrians in Sargonid times were acquainted with the god Mithra, but these efforts are based upon a misunderstanding. The slight infusion of this new strain in a Subaraean tribe—and it must be remembered that Mitanni, the state created and maintained by the Ḫurri in Mesopotamia, was regarded by the Assyrians as Subaraean, for they did not trouble to distinguish eastern and western branches—was sufficient to establish a new balance of power, much to the disadvantage of both Assyria and Babylonia. If the Hittites held the lands where mineral wealth was most plentiful, the Ḫurri held the districts where flax growing and the cloth industry flourished. Owing to the fortunate chance which led to the discovery of the Hittite records, some part of the history of this struggle between the Ḫurri and Hittites, and its effect on Assyria in later times, can now be understood.

Whether the Hittite raid in the reign of Samsuditana was conducted by Murshilish I or not, it is probable that the end of the First Dynasty at Babylon was directly due to this event. The power of the people who had imposed their rule gradually on northern Babylonia was, it would seem, thereby broken. But the raid was no more than a raid, a sudden stroke to serve some purpose we cannot discern. Babylon

and northern Babylonia now fell under the rule of another people, the Kassites, in circumstances rather similar to those which attended the rise of the early Semitic dynasties. These Kassites, whose home lay in the Zagros hills immediately north of Elam, known to the Greeks of Seleucid times as *Κίσσιοι*, came first to Babylonia as labourers.[8] Settling there, they came under the general treatment of the population settled on the land, that is to say they were enrolled for a certain term in the army or the *corvée*. Deriving hence a military training otherwise impossible to such a people, they seem to have taken occasion of the confusion caused by the Hittite disaster to establish themselves as rulers in Babylon, in much the same way that the Mamluk in the eighteenth century of the Christian era availed themselves of their opportunities at Baghdad owing to the sudden death of Aḥmad Pasha. Of the early history of the Kassite dynasty our ignorance is almost complete; it may be that excavations on the site of the town which later became their capital, Dur-Kurigalzu ('Aqarqūf), would reveal some part of their story. It is now certain that Gandash, the founder of the Kassite dynasty, and a certain number of his successors were contemporary with rulers of the dynasty of the Sea-Land; the political conditions in Babylonia therefore changed very little. All north and west of the marshes was in the hands of the king at Babylon: within the marshes his writ did not run.

As the advent of the Kassites changed little from the political standpoint, so also in social manners and customs there was no violent change. This people spoke a strange language, not yet securely assigned to any family; they brought with them names of strange gods, some apparently of Indo-European derivation;[9] but it is clear that their language and religion did not have any considerable influence, and that the changes in Babylonia were the outcome of a slow process of alteration during a long lapse of time. In Assyria, the accession of the Kassites to power was certain to have a damaging effect. While the king in Babylon claimed as his first title "King of the Kassites," he was bound not only to protect his own people in the hills, but to

claim a suzerainty over the Gutii and also Alman (Hulwān), as Agum (II) actually does in his inscription. If all the circumstances of the time be considered, it will be seen that Assyria must have been very hard pressed after the accession of a Kassite king to sovereignty in Babylon; west, south, and east the land was surrounded by new and vigorous peoples in arms. It is, therefore, not surprising to find in later times that the Kassites claimed a hereditary suzerainty over Assyria, and it is probable that at the end of the eighteenth and during the seventeenth centuries they were intermittently able to exact some kind of tribute from the Assyrian king, though there is no proof that they ever actually occupied the country as Hammurabi had done. The one considerable success of the Kassites about the middle of the seventeenth century was the final conquest of the Sea-Land, after the last king of the Sea-Land dynasty had taken refuge in Elam. It is impossible to attribute an extensive empire to any of these kings.

The Hittite raid had, then, a direct effect upon Babylonia and Assyria. But the indirect result of the new circumstances in Syria was no less important. The chain of cause and effect can no longer be directly followed in the lands of the Mediterranean coast; but an event of the first importance which occurred perhaps about the middle of the eighteenth century must certainly be attributed to the new conditions created by the Hittites, namely the foundation of the Hyksos rule in Egypt. Since Eusebius excerpted a passage from Manetho dealing with this event, the question of the nature of the Hyksos,[10] their origin, source of power and history in Egypt, though interminably discussed, is now more perplexing than ever it has been. There are a few probabilities to be deduced from the work of modern scholars. The Hyksos kings have names which can in part be explained by Semitic parallels; but there are some names which do not seem to be Semitic, and there is therefore a probability that this people was mixed, in a manner subsequently found on the Mediterranean sea-board, from Semitic-speaking and some non-

Semitic-speaking elements. The fact that the Hyksos conquered and held Egypt for a long period is sufficient proof that they possessed considerable resources, so that it may be assumed that they were rulers of a powerful state in Western Asia. The Eusebius excerpt of Manetho states that the Hyksos were "foreign, Phoenician kings"; and there is no sound ground for believing that this does not correspond with the facts of the case. A people that had gained control of the seaports would be best able to invade the Delta. But the Hyksos ruled wider territories than the sea-coast, to judge from their earliest successes; and they were not bedouin princes, as Manetho's translation of the name Hyksos would imply. Their military victories were due to the employment of the horse and the chariot, a fact which suggests the close connection with the northern elements in Syria probable on other grounds. It may well be that to some extent their superiority in arms depended upon their use of, and command over supplies of, bronze. Copper, which had remained in common use in Babylonia and Assyria down to the time of the First Dynasty, was at this time displaced by the alloyed metal, which had been known for some time but had not been constantly and commonly used. If it should prove that the Hyksos gained part of their advantage over the Egyptians owing to a better supply of weapons, then it is clear that their kings controlled not only the mineral wealth of Syria, but also the caravan route to Cilicia and Cappadocia.

Were it certain that the Hyksos controlled the whole of Syria—the assumption is no more than probable—a plausible explanation of events might be correct. Of Assyria at this time we know nothing save the kings' names, of Babylonia little more; and it may well be that there is little or nothing to know. The Hittites, if Murshilish I was the conqueror who brought the First Dynasty of Babylon to an end, have left no records of this period. A powerful dominion in Syria would adequately explain the historical circumstances; but the explanation is not thereby proved the correct one. The peculiar geographical

configuration of Syria has caused in that country throughout history local antipathies which have prevented the creation of a unified, coherent state; if there were such a state in Syria from the middle of the eighteenth till the end of the seventeenth century, the phenomenon was unique. The truth of the matter is not ascertainable. The only tangible evidence is concerned with a single king, Khian. His name appears to be North Syrian, for it occurs at a later period as the name of a king of Sam'al (Sinjirli); a small stone lion bearing his cartouche was found at Babylon, and a vase-lid at Cnossus in Crete. It may be that Khian claimed some kind of dominion over both these places, but the evidence does not prove that he did so; denial or assertion is at present premature. An attempt has been made to identify the Hyksos dominion with the kingdom of Ḫanigalbat; there is little in favour of such a view.[10] If speculations without any basis be left on one side, there remains, on general grounds, the probability which has been mentioned, that the general disturbance in Asia may be attributed to this period of Hyksos domination in Syria.

In Manetho's account of the Hyksos rule excerpted by Josephus [11] there is a curious statement. It is said of Salatis, the first king, that "he also secured specially the eastern parts, foreseeing a future desire of the Assyrians, who were then growing rather strong, for the entrance of the kingdom," and to this desire to strengthen his borders the fortification of Avaris is said to have been due. The statement is explicit, and it is not the kind of point in which Josephus may have misrepresented his author. Modern scholars have pointed out that the Greeks constantly used the term "Assyrians" for both Babylonians and Assyrians;[11] but there is no obvious reason why Manetho should do so too, or why Josephus should have altered the term he originally found. In any case the substitution of "Babylonians" for "Assyrians" does not help to explain the Manetho passage. It is hardly credible that, at the beginning of the Hyksos period, a king should have needed to fortify the eastern Delta against a Babylonian (that is, on chronological grounds,

Kassite) king. A more plausible explanation of the passage might be found in an assumption that "Assyrians" is a corruption or misunderstanding of "Syrians." It is conceivable that when the invaders of Egypt made their leader a Pharaoh, a definite breach with the rulers of their old seat of power ensued, and that Avaris was a fort built to protect the rulers of Egypt from their own kin. But it would accord more closely with the previous fate of this type of criticism exercised on ancient authors should it prove that Manetho's statement is roughly accurate. It may be that shortly after the Hyksos conquest of Egypt, Assyria successfully reacted against the pressure that the (hypothetical) Syrian kingdom exercised upon Mesopotamia; a brief spell of success may have induced the position stated by Manetho. The increase in Assyrian power need not entail any assumptions incompatible with our present knowledge; but it can only have been a temporary turn in affairs in Western Asia. The Hyksos recovered and were never again threatened from the east.

The decline of their power must have been due to a variety of causes; the immediate occasion of their fall was the rise of the Theban princes, and their consequent expulsion from the Delta. The scanty accounts of the victories of the Egyptian deliverance give a glimpse of the gradual retirement, first on Memphis, then into Palestine. There is no hint that the refugees received any reinforcement or assistance from Syria, so that their northern dominion must also have been lost. And so the Hyksos passed out of history, after about a century of power; the discovery of some sites which may throw light upon this obscure and very important episode of ancient history in Egypt, Syria, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia is the first duty of future archaeological work.

The immediate result of these events may perhaps be found in the building activities of the princes at Ashur, for the prosperity of the country was therein reflected. Ishme-Dagan II did some repairing work on a temple; his son, Shamshi-Adad III, built himself a palace; his great-grandson, Puzur-Sin, the son of

Ashur-bel-shame, is known to have done more considerable work from a barely legible inscription on a limestone block which was torn from its place and reused in a private dwelling-house some eight hundred years or more after his time.[12] The chronological position of this Puzur-Sin is obscure, for in the only extant king-list of the period he is not mentioned, an Ashur-nirari,[12] son of Shamshi-Adad III and father of Puzur Ashur III alone appearing; but Puzur-Sin must belong to about this time, and his reign may never have been admitted in the canon. Ashur-nirari I was able to undertake considerable renovations on the holy buildings. These rulers belong to the first half of the seventeenth century. The gap in the record until Puzur-Ashur IV amounts to about a century, and though it may in part be due to accident, in part it is due to the conditions of the time. Assyria passed through a period of acute depression, which began about 1650 and ended about 1550. The domination of the Hyksos lasted from about 1680 to about 1580. The coincidence can hardly be accidental.

The question naturally arises, what took place in Syria after the fall of the Hyksos, and why did not Assyria and other states recover more quickly than they appear to have done? In the case of Assyria there is a space of thirty years; part of that time should have sufficed for a recovery from the evil effects of a century, to judge from later instances. There must have been some other cause at work. Egypt did not interfere in Syria until the reign of Amenophis I (about 1558–1545), and that king's advent actually corresponds with a resuscitation of activity in Assyria; it seems reasonable to conclude that Amenophis struck a blow at some power which had been in a position to harass Assyria, and the direction in which that power lay is probably to be sought in the lands of the middle Euphrates. Unfortunately, there is no account of Amenophis's Syrian campaigns extant, though he is generally believed to have reached the Euphrates. It is necessary, therefore, to turn to information derived from later sources for some light on the events of the sixteenth century in these lands.

CHAPTER XIV

THE EGYPTIAN EMPIRE

WHEN Aḥmose finally defeated the Hyksos at Sharuhen, in the Negeb of southern Palestine, he had next to deal with a people called by the Egyptians the Mentu of Satet, who had invaded the Delta as early as the time of Sesostris (Senusret III). Aḥmose also found them in the Delta, whence, when he had slain many of them, he returned southwards. Satet, in the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, denoted a land in Western Asia, and the Mentu of Satet must have been, for an Egyptian of that period, a tribe from a particular locality in Asia. There are no references to this land which allow of an exact geographical definition of the territory; but Egyptian texts speak of the "marshes of Satet," and of copper and gold from there. The Arabian and Syrian deserts cannot be intended. During the later period of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Satet denoted some land farther north than these, and the only lands known to have produced copper and gold, and to be at the same time marshy, are the district between the Euphrates and the Ḫabur, including the quarries in the hills, and Cilicia. Since in campaigns which did not cross the Euphrates the Egyptian armies encountered Sethiu, men of Satet, it must be inferred that the land Satet lay just north of the Euphrates. With these facts it is possible to combine information from the diplomatic correspondence of the Pharaohs Amenophis III and IV, and from Assyrian and Hittite documents. In the 'Amarnah letters there is occasional mention of the Sutu, a people who acted sometimes independently, sometimes as a body, for instance, in connection with Aziru's imprisonment in Egypt, or appear as individuals

enlisted in the service of different town governors. These Sutu are often connected with another people, the Aḫlamu, and the latter are designated by the Assyrians as Aramaeans. The Sutu kept back some Egyptian ambassadors they were conducting to the Assyrian king Ashur-uballiṭ, in the time of Amenophis IV; the Aḫlamu were alleged by the Babylonian king Kadashman-Enlil to be the cause of the cessation of his correspondence with Hattushil, the Hittite sovereign. The situation implies that the Sutu lay in territory between the borders of Assyria and Egypt, not permanently in the power of either of them, while the Aḫlamu similarly lay between the extreme borders of the Hittites and Babylonia.[1] The geographical conditions are best satisfied if we assume that the Sutu ranged between the Ḫabur river and the Jabal Druse, and the Aḫlamu were in the north Syrian desert, ranging from Aleppo to 'Anah.

This disposition of the Sutu and Aḫlamu at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the time of the 'Amarnah correspondence, must have been due to a movement considerably earlier. The Sutu were fighting in the north-western corner of Babylonia in Rim-Sin's fifteenth year. Aḥmose found Mentu of Satet in the Delta after the campaign against the Hyksos; from his time onwards the Sethiu are located in the northern district in which they were a century and a half later. The evidence is not very satisfactory, but on that which is at present available it is possible that the middle of the sixteenth century, say 1580–1550, may have been the time when the movement of the Sutu northwards took place. The reason for that movement is probably to be found in the desert itself. The expulsion of the Hyksos not only from the Delta, but also from Southern Palestine, must have created an extremely disturbed state in the central oases, and an overcrowded condition or merely internal dissensions must have set on foot a northward drive. Pressure on the Aḫlamu may have led to their advance northwards into the more prosperous part of the North Syrian desert; they in turn drove the Sutu across the Euphrates, to roam in what open lands they could,

between the petty states of Syria. The two new peoples in this area perhaps broke up the Ḫabiru, who have been previously discussed, into three branches, a western, northern, and eastern. If this invasion did actually take place at this time it would adequately explain the historical conditions. The fall of the Hyksos, accompanied as it would then be by a dominance of the Aramaean tribes along the caravan routes, brought no relief to Assyria, because it did not lead to any immediate revival of trade. If Amenophis I reached the Lebanon and also the Euphrates, he may well have struck a blow at the Sutu-Sethiu from which they did not easily recover. To that event the Assyrian recovery would be due.

This hypothetical reconstruction of history must remain at present very doubtful. All that is certain is, that the Aramaean invasion took place in the sixteenth or at latest early in the fifteenth century. Conditions in Syria, already sufficiently complicated, thereby became one degree worse. Throughout history this unfortunate country has suffered from the continual presence of unassimilated tribesmen; in this respect it shares a marked characteristic with Babylonia. But the plague had not yet descended into the southern country in the sixteenth century, and was not to do so in its full force for another five hundred years. The Sutu occupied in the second millennium very much the equivocal position of the 'Anaizah tribe to-day. Within the borders of settled lands they never, as a body, settled. Individuals might do so, or even take service with the various princelings and city governors; the tribe remained, so far as it could, outside the law of any state, and would only pay tribute under dire compulsion. The Egyptians had long had to deal with tribes of this kind, and there is a vivid description of such 'Amu in the precepts delivered to Merikere.[2] They would prove no less able to deal with the tribes in Syria, and that is one reason why little is heard of these tribes; under determined handling they remained quiescent, and only the opportunities of loot provided on the caravan routes ever brought them into conflict with

the great powers of Western Asia in these early centuries.

The Sutu and the Aḫlamu have here been described as Aramaeans. That description is correct so far as the Aḫlamu are concerned, for they are so described in the texts. The Sutu are not actually called Aramaeans, but they were very closely associated with the Aḫlamu, and if there was any difference originally in speech or origin, that difference tended to disappear in the course of centuries. For historical purposes they must be considered as the two main branches of a people whose first appearance is marked by the Ḫabiru and these tribes, namely the Aramaeans.

The death of Amenophis I was the inevitable signal for revolt in Syria, and his son Thothmes I was only able to deal with affairs there after a long campaign in Nubia. When he invaded Asia, he may have had to face a considerable coalition, headed by the prince of Kadesh, as his successor Thothmes III did. The significance of Kadesh in this revolt in Syria is to be found in its geographical position. Situated on the Orontes, the city was a centre of caravan routes which led south to Egypt, north to Asia Minor, and westward to the Euphrates valley. Never a great political or military power, the little city state was nevertheless important as a centre for peoples other than its natives, and in that fact must be found the explanation that the opposition to Egypt centred round this city for twenty years. Thothmes was able to brush opposition aside, and reached Naharin, the land between the Orontes and the Euphrates; he may have crossed, certainly he reached, the Euphrates, for by that river he set a memorial stone to mark the north-eastern boundary of his kingdom.

With Thothmes I began the period of immediate and organised Egyptian rule in Palestine and Syria. Attention has been so much focussed on the decline of that rule, owing to the evidence provided by the 'Amarnah letters, that the importance of the Egyptian achievement from Thothmes I until Amenophis IV's

ascension for the understanding of the political development of Western Asia is apt to be missed. Egypt had indeed ruled isolated places, certainly Byblos, as early as the time of the Old Kingdom;[3] and during the Twelfth Dynasty parts of Southern Palestine and Qatna were reckoned within her borders. But from the time of Thothmes I onwards a large tract of Asia was administrated by the Egyptian governors, and the Pharaohs made not infrequent visits to Syria, both for military reasons and for the pleasure of hunting. The effect of this upon Asia must have been far greater than we can at present discern. It is true that the Egyptian administration was not devised to impose a foreign civilisation upon Asia. The governors appointed seem always to have been natives, and the Egyptian representatives at their courts had no executive powers; they merely received the tribute and gifts for the Pharaoh and reported on events to their master in Egypt. Egyptian influence was nevertheless strong, and the Pharaoh's court of this period seems to have set a standard to which the other great monarchs of Western Asia attempted to conform. The kings of Babylon, and presumably of Assyria, had always been easy of approach; they had conducted their business publicly, and had submitted to the labour of settling details with regard to individuals and small matters of property. The Assyrian and Babylonian courts of later times were imitations of another model—the Egyptian court of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The king was no longer accessible to all, but was guarded by a hierarchy of officials. The best analogy for the correspondence from Ashurbanipal's palace is to be found, not in Hammurabi's letters, but in the Egyptian archives. Similarly the Pharaohs were the first to set the fashion of royal hunts, and here their example was sedulously followed by the Assyrians.

These matters seem trifling, but they are part of a larger and more important subject. With the Egyptian conquest the ancient Eastern world became more cosmopolitan than it had ever been, or was ever to be again. The intercourse between Asia Minor,

Syria, Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and even Cyprus and Crete can now only be followed through the accidents of discovery; and it has been seen that there are signs of such intercourse long before the sixteenth century. But from about 1550 till about 1350 B.C., the intercourse was continuous; it involved continual correspondence between the great courts, constant visits of high officials, and even of kings to foreign countries, interchange of wives and divine statues, and all the consequences of diplomatic representation. Syrian princes dressed in Egyptian style; the seal-cutters of Asia Minor put Egyptian religious symbols on the objects they made (Plate XII, *a*); Babylonian gems bore devices which were derived from Egyptian and Cretan art; pots from Cyprus (Plate XII, *b*) made their way to the city of Ashur.[4] Not only material objects changed hands. The library of the Pharaoh included Babylonian literary works, the Hittite kings possessed translations of documents dealing with all the exploits of Sargon and Naram-Sin, and an Assyrian scribe in Egypt made a vocabulary of Egyptian words.[5] Wars did not stay, they rather accelerated, the process. In Hatshepsut's temple at Dair al Baḥri a hieratic note was found on an ostracon:[6] "Let the Assyrian who is making turquoise come with him." How the Assyrian came to Egypt we do not know. Possibly he was a captive taken in one of Thothmes I's campaigns, though it is unlikely that that monarch ever fought a battle with the Assyrian army; perhaps he was merely an isolated individual who was pursuing his trade in search of fortune in a distant land. Such a case shows that the intercourse definitely involved a contact of people with people.

There must also have been introduced into this small civilised world a new element, the consciousness of a need for organisation on a larger scale if independence was to be kept or regained. To that consciousness alone the formation and maintenance of the state of Mitanni by the noble Ḫurri must in some part be due, for it was situated in a land which never before, and never since, has been able to present a

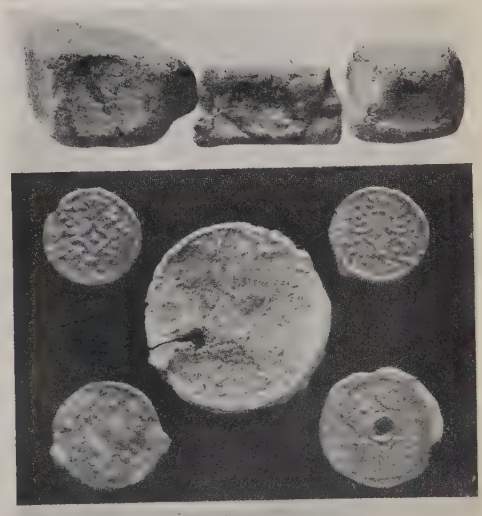


PLATE XIV

TO ILLUSTRATE INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

a. Hittite seal and impression dating from about 1400—1200 B.C. The god and human figures are distinctive of Hittite art. The ape, the disc and the crescent symbol are common on Babylonian seals. The *'ankh* sign is purely Egyptian. The ornament of the sacred tree is also inspired by Egyptian art. Provenance, Syria or Palestine. B.M. No. 118,350. (After Hall in *British Museum Quarterly*, Vol. I, No. 4.)

b. Impression of cylinder seal showing an Assyrian mounted soldier pursuing a tribesman of the Aribi on a camel which was introduced by this people into the N. Syrian desert. Probably a memorial of the campaign of Ashurbanipal against the Aribi in or about 648 B.C. Compare *History of Babylon*, Fig. 33. B.M. No. 117,716. See p. 306.

c. Protome of a winged bull, coarse fayence. This closely resembles two similar heads from Tall al Yahudiyah (B.M. Nos. 12,963-4) in Egypt, and a head from Asia Minor (de Genouillac, *Ceramique Cappadocienne* Tome II planche 17 No. 63.) From Warka. B.M. No. 117,981.

d. Roundels of lead with pattern, and stamped lumps, from the City of Ashur. In the British Museum. See p. 324.

united front and preserve the essential coherence of a state for any length of time. The new, and entirely political, entity, Mitanni, must have originated at the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century. It was the product of political causes. The Ḫurri had penetrated Mesopotamia under rulers of Indo-Iranian affinities to obtain some counterbalance to the increasing power of the Hittites in Asia Minor, and there imposed themselves on the basic Subaraean stock; the pressure of Egypt from the western side of the Euphrates drove the various princelings to unite and admit the leadership of a single king, who ruled from Washshukkanni, a town probably situated somewhere to the extreme north of the Ḫabur valley. The Aramaean nomads who wandered from Mesopotamia to the Lebanon must have at once admitted and avoided the overlordship of the kings of Mitanni and Egypt alternately.

While the fear of Egypt was causing the petty states of Mesopotamia to unite, the vassal princes of Syria, still under the leadership of Kadesh, were anxious to be rid of the foreign yoke. In the reign of Hatshepsut, when Syrian affairs appear to have been much neglected, they partially succeeded in their object, and Thothmes III did not attempt to recover lost territory until his twenty-second year, perhaps 1482 B.C., when complete success rewarded bold strategy at Megiddo, and the Lebanon succumbed. Two years later he again marched to Syria, and it is stated in the triumphal tribute list that in the twenty-fourth, perhaps the thirty-third and fortieth years of Thothmes' reign, "the Chief of Ashur" brought certain quantities of "genuine lapis lazuli," some "fine lapis" of Babylon, some "Assyrian vessels" of many colours, which were probably like the glazed vases known from later times (Plate XIII). A question as to the truth of this statement has been raised, and many modern scholars have expressed doubts as to whether Thothmes ever crossed the Euphrates.[7] The question must here be considered, but a retrospect of Assyrian records is first required.

The son of Ashur-nirari II, Puzur-Ashur IV, was

able to undertake very considerable building operations at Ashur. He was the first to build fortified walls to protect the new dwelling quarter which now surrounded the southern part of the ancient city, and he restored the great Ishtar temple and the steps which led down from the platform of the temple tower to the Tigris. A passage in the "Synchronous History," which has been misplaced owing either to an accident of memory on the part of the original author or to an error of the scribe who copied the document, states that Puzur-Ashur concluded an agreement about the boundary between Assyria and Babylonia with Burnaburiash, the Kassite king. It is certain from the fact that he made peace with Babylonia that he had previously made war, and since the boundary was one favourable to Assyria the probability is that the Assyrians had more than held their own in the struggle. The boundary in question was that which ran between the two kingdoms not only between the Euphrates and the Tigris, but also from the Tigris eastwards, a territory always hotly disputed in subsequent ages, and especially liable to be a centre of trouble under the Kassites because of the caravan route from the hills past Kirkuk and Ḫaniqin.

Assyria was now prosperous, owing to the removal of western pressure. It was not a great state as in the time of Sargon I or Shamshi-Adad I, but it was a small compact kingdom with a control of the Tigris valley and a considerable revenue. So it appears to have remained from about 1520, the time of Puzur-Ashur's accession, till about the end of the reign of his son, Enlil-naṣir II, say 1490–1480 B.C. The two kings who succeeded legitimately after Enlil-naṣir, Ashur-rabi I and Ashur-nirari II, have left no records, and were not considered great conquerors by their own descendants. Their joint reigns may be supposed roughly to have covered the period 1490 or 1480 to 1450 or 1440. Ashur-nirari's son, Ashur-bel-nisheshu was again able to undertake considerable work, especially upon the fortifications of his great-great-grandfather, Puzur-Ashur IV. The Assyrian records show, then, a

gap between Enlil-naṣir II and Ashur-bel-nisheshu which exactly corresponds to the period between Thothmes III's twenty-fourth campaign and his death, 1480–1447, if the lower dating (an approximate one) of the Egyptian ruler be correct. Such a coincidence may be an accident, but in view of Thothmes III's claim that he received tribute from Ashur the modern historian is hardly justified in neglecting it. On the internal evidence, then, there is reason to believe the statement correct. There is further evidence which clinches the matter.

In the tribute lists[7] that adorn the walls of the great temple at Karnak there are various names mentioned of peoples and places that paid tribute to a Pharaoh; the inscriptions may refer to Seti I, but record the names of peoples who paid tribute probably to Thothmes, *'Araraḫ, Runru, Gut, Ḫasut, Tamnu, Lelebeni.* For all, or nearly all, these places and peoples it is possible to find equivalents in quarters not hitherto suspected. Egyptologists appear to be agreed that *'Araraḫ* is a scribal error for *Araraphaḫ*, Arrapḫa, the site of Kirkuk. That identification leads to others east of Tigris. *Runru* and *Ḫasut* may be the districts along the river Ruru and by Mt. Ḫasu which are mentioned as far east of Assyria in later Assyrian records:[8] they were situated near the land of Bazu. The Mt. Ḫasu mentioned by Tiglathpileser III in northern Syria is not favoured by the connection with *Runru.* The word *Lelebeni* can only be an adjectival formation from the ethnic Lullubu, the district south of Seripul (Ḥulwan). *Gut* may perhaps be a syncopated rendering of the land of Gutium, south of the Lullubu, immediately north of the homeland of the Kassites. The other name, *Tamnu,* belongs probably not to the lands east of Tigris, but to another land which alternately submitted to and revolted from Assyria; the *Tamnu* must be the Tamannai, a tribe of which a part was settled in Ḫanigalbat, near to Nisibis. This tribute from the districts north-west of Assyria was accompanied by other tribute from a district immediately to the west, situated on the great trade route from the Euphrates; the lord of the hills of Sengara,

Sinjar, sent great quantities of Babylonian lapis lazuli. Not only, then, did a Pharaoh receive tribute from the Euphrates valley, but also from princes far north of the Euphrates, and east of the Tigris. The Egyptians would never have known of these peoples, would certainly never have written their names in the lists, if they had not in truth received such tribute. These lands and peoples were all within the sphere of influence of, and sometimes subject to, Assyria. The only Pharaoh who, on our present historical evidence, came into direct contact with Assyria, was Thothmes III. It is reasonable, therefore, to consider the inscriptions at Karnak derived from his tribute lists, directly or indirectly. The historical fact then of Thothmes' victory far east of Euphrates, ought to be considered established beyond a doubt, and the meaning of the position remains to be analysed.

Only one of two possible motives can have induced an Assyrian king to send "tribute" to Egypt: either he was forced to do so, or he sent a gift to conciliate the favour of a possible enemy. The only force that could compel him to send tribute was a victorious Egyptian army marching on his territory, for tribute was never easily paid at this or any other period in the history of Western Asia; in that case Thothmes' army not only crossed the Euphrates, but marched almost as far as the Tigris valley. The statements in the triumphal inscriptions that the Pharaoh trod beneath his feet all the lands of Mitanni do in fact imply such a march, though modern scholarship has regarded them with suspicion. There is in favour of the view that Assyria did actually suffer a severe reverse at the hands of Thothmes the fact that the territories named above sent gifts or tribute to the Egyptian independently. It is, of course, possible that some of these territories, Nisibis and Sinjar, for example, were independent of Assyria at a period prior to Thothmes' campaign. They cannot all have been so. Arrapḫa and some other of the eastern lands must have been subject to Puzur-Ashur IV, otherwise it would have been impossible for him to obtain the concession of the favourable southern boundary from

Burnaburiash. The evidence points to a decided reversal of Assyrian fortunes precisely about the time of Thothmes' campaign, and it may well be that the appearance of these various districts in the Egyptian tribute lists is due to Thothmes' policy. After he had attacked and overrun the land of Mitanni, he may have made a demonstration in force against the now considerable power on the Tigris, and inflicted a defeat on Assyria, as the result of which he recognised the independence of all those districts ready to rise against the Assyrian king. This is a hypothetical reconstruction; but it suits the facts better than the second alternative, the assumption that the "tribute" was no more than a diplomatic present. There is no mention of "tribute" from Babylon, yet a diplomatic gift from the Babylonian king would have been as much in place as from Assyria if Thothmes did no more than threaten Mitanni. At a later period, in the time of Amenophis IV, both Babylonian and Assyrian kings sent and received such gifts because they were equally interested in Egyptian policy; there is no reason to believe that Babylonia did not in fact do so in Thothmes' reign, when Egyptian pressure on Assyria must have been specially welcome. Above all, the assumption that Assyrian relations with Thothmes were no more than diplomatic fails to explain the independence of the eastern provinces, which cannot be a fiction of bombastic origin.

Whether the blow was dealt by Thothmes or not, it is clear that in his time Assyria was reduced to extreme distress; the revival which had commenced with the accession of Puzur-Ashur IV was stayed throughout the time of Ashur-rabi I and Ashur-nirari II, that is from about the time Assyria first paid tribute to Egypt until the death of Thothmes. It was stayed, but no more than stayed; the Egyptian king had not delivered a long series of blows at Assyria, his principal intention can have been no more than to prevent another power from profiting by his victories over Mitanni. The removal of Egyptian domination over the trade-routes on the death of Thothmes III, at any rate those east of Euphrates, led to another

Assyrian revival, which was really a continuation of the prosperity previous to Thothmes' wars.

There is another interesting feature of the tribute lists of Thothmes III which deserves attention. All the princes from what may be called Assyrian territory gave quantities of "lapis lazuli," and the Egyptian scribes took pains to distinguish between the "genuine lapis lazuli" and the "fine lapis lazuli from Babylon." The "genuine lapis lazuli" can be no other than the stone itself, obtained from the distant east, and it is important to notice the significance of the traffic in this precious stone. If Thothmes was pleased to receive this commodity either as a gift or as tribute, then it would assuredly be desired by merchants; and in the caravan traffic from the east that the trade entailed must lie to some extent the secret of the flourishing townships along the caravan routes east of Tigris. The Zagros hills were held, it is true, for the most part by wild mountaineers; but there were centres of industry and trade there which will be met in subsequent Assyrian history. But the "fine lapis lazuli from Babylon," or perhaps "fine Babylonian lapis," was not the same. The expression might conceivably mean a particular kind of carved lapis of Babylonian workmanship, but it is improbable that Thothmes would have valued such, for the religious scenes and symbols depicted would have had no interest for him, and there is no proof in the material remains of this period that Babylonia was particularly notable for the working of lapis lazuli. One carved object of lapis lazuli, a ram's head, is specifically mentioned; had the rest been carved, the fact would probably have been mentioned. There is, on the other hand, a product which the Babylonians were in the habit of describing as lapis lazuli which is not the stone, but a blue frit of much the same colour as lapis lazuli;[9] and it is probable that blue glass was also described as lapis, though owing to climatic and other accidental conditions the extant objects of blue frit and glass from Babylonia and Assyria are very rare. The invention of the process from which this blue glass results is not likely to have occurred in two places

suddenly, though it may have done so; the historical certainty, if "the fine lapis lazuli from Babylon" be really, as seems likely, an artificial product, is that Thothmes was anxious to acquire quantities of that substance in preference to other commodities. The original manufacture of glass and various kinds of glazes is generally attributed by archaeologists to

Fig. 17.

Bas-relief representing the goddess Ishtar, of blue frit; the plaque was fastened on some object, perhaps as inlay. From Nimrūd. B.M. No. 118785. See p. 233.

Egypt, though isolated voices have protested against the assumption;[9] it may be that Assyria and the Assyrian provinces which became independent in Thothmes' time were centres of the industry which produced bluefrit or glass of a kind invented at Babylon. Bas-reliefs of this material were made in Assyria at a later date (Fig. 17). In Ashurbanipal's library there

was a book entitled "The Gate of the Furnace" which gave instructions for the making of this valuable product. Some three hundred years after Thothmes' time we have evidence for other products of the glazier which are of importance in their own place.

Thothmes' campaigns in Syria were numerous, and during his lifetime no revolt had a chance of success. His son, Amenophis II was faced with a revolt immediately on his death, which he seems to have had no difficulty in quelling up to the Euphrates valley. Kadesh and the Orontes valley fell immediately; Mitanni submitted directly and in the person of its sovereign lord, in a manner it had not done to Thothmes, perhaps because Amenhotep was willing to accept a rather different position from his father. Thothmes had probably aimed at and achieved a complete suppression of any unity in Mitanni; Amenophis was willing to admit a head of that state, provided he remained a vassal of Egypt. Amenophis' success took place in or about 1450 B.C., and synchronises with the renewal of Assyrian effort which is signalised by the activities of Ashur-bel-nisheshu. The events which occurred between Thothmes' death and Amenophis' campaign favoured Assyria.

There are two proofs of Ashur-bel-nisheshu's continuation of his great-great-grandfather's work, the one being his restoration of the fortified wall round the New City at Ashur, the other his conclusion of a treaty about the southern boundary with Kara-indash, which must have been similar to the one formerly made with Burnaburiash. Once again it must be said that the conclusion of such a treaty implies a prior war, and Assyria can have been in no condition to fight the Kassite kings unless the lost provinces east of Tigris had been regained. The order of events in this reign then was probably recovery of the lost provinces, war with the Kassites, peace and the establishment of the old, favourable boundary, and finally the reconstruction of the fortifications. In all probability Ashur-bel-nisheshu did not reign long, for he was succeeded by his brother, Ashur-rim-nisheshu, of whom we only know that he continued the work of

a

b

c

PLATE XV

GLAZED WARE OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA IN THE PERIOD 1000—600 B.C. See p. 234.

a. Four small glazed vases from Ashur. B.M. Nos. 92,116, 116,377, 116,375, 116,379.
b. *c*. Glazed vases from Babylon. (After Reuther, *Die Innensstadt von Babylon*, Tafel 75d and 76, No. 133.)

restoring the great fortifications of the city of Ashur. The reigns of Ashur-bel-nisheshu and Ashur-rim-nisheshu jointly cover the period about 1450–1410, the time when Amenophis II and Thothmes IV ruled Egypt. In Babylonia, Kara-indash remained upon the throne until the beginning of Amenophis III's reign. In Mitanni, fortunes had revived and a ruling house had established itself as the result of negotiations with Amenophis II and Thothmes IV. Saushshatar, the founder of the dynasty, was succeeded by Artatama, who gave his daughter in marriage to Thothmes after repeated applications. Were it possible exactly to settle the chronology of these kings, an interesting light would be thrown on the diplomacy of the period. Saushshatar was doubtless the vassal prince who paid tribute to Amenhotep II, mentioned previously; and he was allowed to do so, perhaps in order to counterbalance the growing importance of the Hittite kings in Asia Minor. But he himself, once established in Mitanni as a subject of Egypt, naturally turned against Assyria, and he was able to inflict, probably on Ashur-rim-nisheshu, a considerable defeat which enabled him to enter some one of the great cities of Assyria, if not the city of Ashur, for he carried away to his capital, Washshukkanni, a pair of gold and silver doors. Once again Assyria had received a severe blow, and Saushshatar's son, Artatama, was able to exact tribute, perhaps from Ashur-rim-nisheshu, certainly from the latter's son and successor, Ashur-nadin-aḫḫe.

With the establishment of the dynasty in Mitanni Assyrian history undergoes one of its periodic changes. The centuries which had elapsed between the death of Shamshi-Adad I and the payment of tribute to a king of Mitanni had been inglorious ones for Assyria. The reason is not far to seek. Earlier kings had been able temporarily to exert their authority for a time to control the trade routes, but these efforts were directed in the main against disorganised and ill-equipped peoples. Against Babylonian armies the Assyrian rulers remained able to maintain their ground. But from the time of the Hyksos onwards Assyria suffered,

perhaps more than we can now estimate, from inferiority in military equipment and organisation. For five centuries the land on the Tigris valley was unable to profit by the example of others, largely because of a position disadvantageous for the obtaining of military supplies. Egypt had shown that, once an equal equipment was obtained, the new powers could be met successfully in the field. Assyria perforce waited until another element in the game was mastered: an organiser, and an organisation, could give scope to the energies of a country ready for great efforts, provided only such efforts were not too soon repressed. Meanwhile, the country was under the dominion of the kings of Mitanni; but this dominion was probably not oppressive. The Ḫurri were related to the Subaraeans, and must have sympathised with many features of Assyrian religion. A hymn to Ishtar of Nineveh in the Ḫurri language[10] proves that they were very willing to accept and worship Assyrian gods.

CHAPTER XV

THE KINGS OF MITANNI AND THE LIBERATION OF ASSYRIA

THE dramatic fortunes of the Mitannian royal family form the central point of the history of Western Asia for about a century, not because these princes were the greatest in their world; they were far from that. But themselves adventurers, they engaged the fortunes of an important people in a difficult political adventure. The names of the kings show that they were of Indo-Iranian extraction, and to a slight admixture of similar blood the other elements of Indo-Iranian civilisation in Mitanni, the Indian gods and the method of horse-training, must be assigned. They ruled, not by virtue of their own numerical power, but owing to their leadership and organisation of the Ḫurri, the Subaraean stock which has already been discussed. The main population of Mitanni probably remained as it had been; but now it was ruled by landed nobles, whose personal loyalty and family interest bound them for ever to a dynastic prince. The experiment and adventure in which the nobility were engaged was the holding of the outlet of the Euphrates and the mountains westwards to Cilicia against the Hittites while they themselves exploited the rich lands of Syria and the sea-coast. The basis of their power was the political state of Mitanni, which has no real geographical borders, though such might be marked along physical features on a map.

In details neither few nor unimportant, speculation, especially of a linguistic kind, has been unfortunately rife in the matter of Mitanni. Since Winckler guessed that the Ḫurri were Aryans, other Aryan etymologies

have been advanced, for the name applied to a class of the nobility or officialdom, *mariannu*, for Mitanni itself (Mita's men), and for Washshukkanni,[1] neglecting the obvious and significant fact that the termination *-annu* is a nominal formation in the dialect of Subaraean the Ḫurri spoke. Equally baseless is the view which would trace a dominance of the Mitanni country over Assyria in the earliest period on the basis of two personal names. The land of Mitanni does not appear in history until the end of the sixteenth century; it disappears at the end of the second millennium even as a geographical term. It cannot be too clearly stated that the state of Mitanni was a creation of the foreign leaders of a section of the Subaraeans.

The manifold weaknesses in the position of the Mitanni kings will immediately be obvious. They depended for their position on a powerful nobility, whose claims they could not well refuse; ruling by force of superior character and energy, they encountered the gravest disasters when family dissensions arose. Surrounded by states of a greater homogeneity than their own, they had to defend frontiers against the Hittites, the Assyrians, the Egyptians, whilst dealing with the constant internal plague of bedouin tribes from the desert. The final failure that awaited their house need rouse no feelings of surprise; it is rather a cause for wonder that they succeeded in maintaining themselves so long, and in planting men of Mitannian nationality, of whatever racial origin, Indo-Iranian, Ḫurri, or even Semitic, on so many of the thrones of small but important Syrian principalities. Of Artatama I, the second king, there is no record extant, but it is obvious from the position held by his grandson Dushratta, that he was able to establish the Mitannian power over a very large area. In part, his strength was due to his opponent's weakness. The Pharaohs Amenophis II and Thothmes IV left the administration of their Asiatic empire very much in the hands of their Egyptian representatives at the native courts, satisfied with the reception of revenue and the absence of further open revolt. The energy of the Mitanni ruler was sufficient to deal with this situation without

bringing down upon himself immediate retribution in the form of an Egyptian army. Assyria to the east was crippled for other reasons, as has been seen. The Hittites had difficulties peculiar to Asia Minor, where geographical conditions favoured the continual appearance of mushroom states, and there was a constant pressure from the peoples living east of the Upper Euphrates towards the Halys basin. The chronology and history of the Hittites during most of the fifteenth century remain so obscure that little use can be made of what is known.[2] Campaigns against Arzawa, Aleppo, and even Ḫanigalbat are mentioned. Arzawa was a state which comprised Western Cilicia, and was founded by men of a dialect similar to that of the kings of the Hittites. The campaigns against Aleppo must have preceded the Egyptian domination over that city from the time of Thothmes onwards. The campaigns against Ḫanigalbat are more difficult to understand, and may indicate that a prince of Nisibis attempted to establish some sort of rule up to the Euphrates in Asia Minor. After these campaigns the Hittites suffered some severe blows at the hands of Thothmes, who may even have reached the sacred city of Arinna in Eastern Cilicia. Moreover, the Hittites themselves, though stronger in numbers than the royal element in Mitanni, were numerically inferior to the vast mass of the population with which they had to deal. Their time had not yet come when Saushshatar established himself in Mitanni.

Apart from the weakness of their enemies, the rulers of Mitanni must have possessed some elements of strength. One source of that strength has already been mentioned, their superior horsemastership. It is also clear that they possessed adequate material for equipment; they had access to the mineral wealth of the hills, and their supply of bronze weapons never failed. Their organisation for war must have been on a more permanent footing than that of most Asiatic states. Every prince was surrounded by a number of *mariannu* nobles, each of whom apparently possessed his own retainers, so that this class formed

a military body capable of being used as a standing army. But, above all, the kings of Mitanni were able, and probably unscrupulous, men of affairs; life in that cosmopolitan age, as always since in Western Asia, was a battle of wits. The king who could most successfully play one power off against the other was the most likely to succeed; and the king of Mitanni possessed many pawns for the possession of which he could set the Egyptians and the Hittites at odds.

The key to the diplomatic problem lay in Syria, where a number of states of varying extent and nature owed obedience to Egypt. The problems connected with the geographical position of each of these states are peculiarly intricate. Most of them are mentioned in Egyptian records, all of them appear in the cuneiform records from Boghaz Keui, some appear in the 'Amarnah letters together with townships not otherwise known. Approximate locations of most of them can be essayed, but it is impossible to be certain that the exact limits of any state were the same over any considerable length of time, or that any princeling handed on to his successor the same status. The general position when Shutarna succeeded Artatama I would seem to have been that the king of Mitanni was able already to count upon a goodly number of adherents, and that intrigues were on foot to secure thrones for more. The Pharaoh Amenophis III believed, apparently, that Asia could be ruled by a policy of doles. When approached by Ashur-nadin-aḫḫe, of Assyria, he sent twenty talents of gold for the decoration of the palace that was in process of construction at Ashur; similarly, he sent envoys to Babylonia, where they greeted the now aged Kara-indash. The policy was not without its effect. No ordinary temptation would be sufficient to tempt any great king into open enmity with Egypt; if he was faithful to the alliance for no other reason, he generally proved unwilling to risk losing the Nubian gold which the Pharaoh was able to send. The Kassites especially seem to have been well content to remain spectators, and consistently to have avoided any possible cause of quarrel with Egypt. Much later in the reign of Amenophis III the Canaanites

approached a new king of Babylon, Kurigalzu, with a proposition that he should assist them in their plans for a revolt. The Babylonian refused; and continued to claim rewards from Amenophis's son.

In any case the Babylonian king would have been able to give little help. It is extremely improbable that his writs ran farther north than Rapiqu, the town on the Euphrates which lay between Babylon and 'Anah. The little kingdom of Ḫana, the capital of which was Tirqa,[3] later called Sirqu, the modern 'Ashârah, had once, after Shamshi-Adad's rule there, been subject to the Kassites, to judge from the names of certain gods and canals which belong to native Kassite speech. This Kassite predominance there belonged to the time when even Ashur may have been forced to admit the overlordship of the southern king, the second half of the eighteenth century. But at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century the country threw off the dominance of the Babylonians, and a certain number of independent kings of Ḫana are known, Isharlim, Ḫammurapiḫ, Sunuḫrammu, Ammibail; or perhaps Ḫammurapiḫ, also called Ammurabi, came at the end of the series. This independence was not continuous, at least in one case. After Isharlim's rule, the Babylonian king Kashtiliash, we know not whether the first or the second of that name, established his authority in the country and made certain legal dispositions which seem to have affected the land allotments. Thereafter independence was again restored to the remaining kings, all of whom bear names of Amorite origin; the little kingdom had become in fact the sole land where men closely related to the kings of the First Babylonian Dynasty were not under a foreign yoke of some kind. At some subsequent period, we cannot say when, the country temporarily belonged to the Assyrians, for a tablet dated by an Assyrian eponym is convincing evidence of this fact. But by the time of Dushratta the kingdom had disappeared, and had been made part of a larger province, Ashtata, by the king of Mitanni. The dominating power in the district must clearly have been the Aramaean bedouin. Tirqa lay, as a

later Assyrian geographical list says, "facing the Sutu"; that list refers to circumstances different from those of the end of the fifteenth century, but the truth holds of the earlier period. Babylonian armies could not therefore have marched up the Euphrates and across to Canaan, even by the desert route, without meeting strenuous opposition; and Babylonian armies at this time do not seem ever to have met with success in the field. Nevertheless, Babylon was a great name, and Amenophis perhaps did well to secure an alliance of this kind with the Kassites.

Little is known about Amenophis III's activities in Syria and Mesopotamia. He certainly hunted on terrain subject to the King of Mitanni, and a scarab[3a] records his conquest of Sinjar. Egyptian troops may have taken part in a campaign so far east as part of the army of a vassal; it is hardly probable that Amenophis himself conducted the expedition. The incident is too uncertainly known to conflict with the evidence which establishes the nature of Amenophis's relations with Mitanni.

The friendly policy of Amenophis III towards the kings of Mitanni was very marked, and seems to have had an untoward effect there. The royal families had already been closely linked by the marriage of Thothmes IV with Artatama I's daughter, who is by some identified with Mutemua,[4] Amenophis III's mother. In the tenth year of his reign, about 1403 B.C., Amenophis married the daughter of Shutarna, Artatama I's son. The marriage of this lady, Gilu-Ḫepa, was celebrated in Egypt by the issue of a scarab, much in the fashion of a memorial medal; the event was of considerable importance. The lady was intended for an eminent position; but the Pharaoh's harim at this time was dominated by Teie, the "royal wife," a woman of considerable character, and the Mitannian princess seems to have sunk into obscurity, though she must have exercised some influence on the immediate circle of the harim. Shutarna was committed to a pro-Egyptian policy, and there was no warfare between the kingdoms at this time. While he lived, this state of affairs lasted, but immediately

after his death latent dissatisfaction with the state of affairs among the Ḫurri nobles led to a civil war in Mitanni which split the kingdom. The legitimate heir to Shutarna was his eldest son, Artashumara. A certain Tuḫi,[5] who led the disaffected nobles, murdered him, and gained possession of the person of the next son, Dushratta, with the object of preventing his communication with Egypt. Their intention would seem to have been to institute a *volte-face*, to throw themselves into opposition to Egypt; the origin of the movement is to be sought in the home-land of the Ḫurri, and the course of events in Asia Minor. Dushratta succeeded in dealing with the murderers; they were themselves killed, whether after fighting or by some stratagem is not said. These events all took place in Washshukkanni, the capital; but Dushratta's success there did not lead to his complete victory. The old home-land of the Ḫurri definitely broke away from Dushratta, and his younger brother, Artatama, became king of that small state. An effort was even made to invade Mitanni proper, but Dushratta drove the invaders back with considerable slaughter, and sent some of the booty with a letter to Amenophis, requesting a continuation of the Egyptian alliance.

That alliance was indeed essential to Dushratta, for the invasion had been supported by the Hittite king, Shubbiluliu, the ally of Artatama. That king was engaged on a great task, the restoration of the Hittite kingdom after a civil war which had arisen out of family dissensions. Shubbiluliu's father had been followed on the throne by his eldest son, who died childless, and a certain Arnuanda secured the kingship. The civil war that ensued was finally ended by Shubbiluliu's victory, but circumstances had been changed thereby, and the new king moved the capital from Kushshar to the northern city, Ḫattushash, the modern Boghaz Keui. The kingdom which Shubbiluliu now ruled does not seem, at the commencement of his reign, to have been either large or powerful; it did not even include the lands on the western bank of the Upper Euphrates, and the aid Shubbiluliu lent Artatama was insufficient to give the latter the

victory. Above all, the road through the Cilician gates was blocked by a small kingdom, Qizzuwadna, if, as seems most probable, that state is to be identified with Eastern Cilicia.[6] For that reason Shubbiluliu seems to have chosen as his battle ground with Dushratta the left bank of the Euphrates. Collision between the two states was inevitable, for the king of Mitanni, in pursuing his quarrel with the king of the Ḫurri, had established some kind of claim to the Upper Euphrates valley, or at least to the protection of it. Shubbiluliu took the first step;[7] without regarding the Mitanni king's claim, he led a plundering raid along the left bank of the river and crossed into Naharina, the district between the Euphrates and the Orontes, and claimed the Lebanon as his southern border; this action, though it must have been at least a nominal infringement of Egyptian suzerainty in that quarter, did not meet with any direct reply from Egypt, but was at once counted a *casus belli* by Dushratta. The Mitanni king did not lay claim to the left bank of the Euphrates; he merely stated that if the Hittite king plundered the lands there, he also would plunder them. Shubbiluliu marched immediately against Ishuwa, a land which lay east of the great bend of the Upper Euphrates. His choice of this area was dictated by the fact that the citizens of several rebellious cities and districts which owed him allegiance had, when he reconquered their territories at the beginning of his reign, fled thither for refuge. His campaign was immediately successful, and he pushed his victory as far east as Alshe, Washshukkanni and the fortress Shuta, which lay probably north of Nisibis, in the Ṭur ʿAbdin. Marching back westwards along the hills he crossed the Euphrates, and met no opposition when he turned south to Aleppo and the districts adjoining. At this point began the long conflict for the possession of Syria which was the central point of all subsequent Hittite endeavours.

The strange feature to note about all that followed is the complete torpor of Egypt. If all these incidents befell, as seems historically most probable, imme-

diately after the accession of Dushratta, during the lifetime of Amenophis III, then the collapse of the Egyptian Empire began in his reign. On the cause for this torpor it is unlikely that the inscriptions will ever throw any light. There is reason to believe that the religious upheavals in Egypt which culminated in the reign of Amenophis IV began in the reign of his father,[8] and it may be that the struggles which centred round the subversion of the worship of Amen Ra were the cause of the neglect of imperial affairs. Dushratta fought the Hittites in Northern Syria alone; but to some extent he was fighting Egypt's battles as well as his own, and it may be he was supported by Egyptian troops.

Shubbiluliu's appearance in Syria was greeted by a prince who was weary both of paying Egyptian tribute and of the intrigues of the Ḫurri nobles at his court. Takua, king of Niya, bore a Subaraean name, and it may be that he originally owed his throne to the influence of Mitanni; he may himself have been by nationality a Ḫurri. He went to Shubbiluliu's camp, a little west of Aleppo, and there was making terms with the Hittites while his brother Aki(t)-Teshup, also a man of Subaraean name, and the principal Ḫurri nobles, together with a local princeling of the same origin, decided to meet Shubbiluliu in battle. Unsupported, they were decisively defeated and carried into captivity. Qatna, a city near the modern Homs, resisted and also fell before the Hittites, who passed on to deal with Nuḫashshi, the princedom which surrounded the great city of Hamath. There the king Sharrupshi had been contemplating the same steps as Takua had taken; his friendship for the Hittites was well known from previous events. Shortly before this Sharrupshi had aroused the wrath of the king of Mitanni, perhaps because he had attempted to resist the insidious influence that seems to have wrought through court intrigues; his land was invaded, and Shubbiluliu when appealed to was able to send some auxiliaries just as he was beginning his campaign against Ishuwa. The united forces succeeded in driving the invaders back. But before Shubbiluliu

and Sharrupshi could meet, the king of Nuḫashshi was assassinated by one of his own relatives; the Hittite king could only revenge himself on the royal family, and place one of Sharrupshi's faithful servants on the throne. Once again the army marched westwards, and though Shubbiluliu had originally had no intention of attacking Kinza (Kadesh), he was forced to do so by the hostile action of its king, Shutatarra. After meeting the forces of Kadesh in the field, Shubbiluliu besieged a remnant in a fortress, captured the king and his son Aiṭaggama and sent them to his capital. Subsequently he installed Aiṭaggama as king of Kadesh, and though the latter entered into correspondence with the Pharaoh, he seems consistently to have pursued a pro-Hittite policy.

A long and ardous campaign had closed; by it, Shubbiluliu laid the foundations of Hittite supremacy in Syria, but he had yet to prove that he could maintain that supremacy from Asia Minor. Throughout the long space of time which the campaign must have required, he never met the army of Dushratta. It is inconceivable that the reason for this phenomenon can be any other than military; Dushratta refused the open offer of a set field because he was unable to send his army northwards towards Nisibis, or westwards. The small expedition he had sent to Nuḫashshi was quickly withdrawn. Shubbiluliu, on the other hand, carefully avoided invading the plains of Mitanni; and it seems to have been a set policy of his, scrupulously to avoid any action which might imply a desire to conquer that land. The policy presumably was intended to create a pro-Hittite party amongst the Ḫurri in Syria. So long as Mitanni was not attacked, the personal interests of the Ḫurri produced a confusion of motives which led some to commit themselves to the Hittite alliance; a direct invasion of Mitanni would only lead to a united resistance on all sides. But the explanation for Dushratta's action must be found in some events not known to us. It may be that the dissatisfaction with a pro-Egyptian policy which had expressed itself before and broke out again later, was the cause. Perhaps Arta-

tama of Ḫurri was engaged in helping the Hittite by occupying the major part of Dushratta's attention. But it may also be that he was engaged in an unsuccessful attempt to retain Assyria.

The period of direct dependence upon Mitanni on the part of the rulers of Assyria has already been attributed for chronological reasons to the reigns of Ashur-rim-nisheshu and Ashur-nadin-aḫḫe. Neither of these kings was in the direct line of succession, for Ashur-rim-nisheshu succeeded his brother Ashur-bel-nisheshu although the latter had issue, and Ashur-nadin-aḫḫe is omitted in the genealogies of the subsequent kings. How these two came to hold the hereditary title "tenant farmer of Ashur" is uncertain; it is within the bounds of possibility that they owed their position to the kings of Mitanni. When the exact events to be attributed to the reign of Ashur-nadin-aḫḫe are more certainly known, it may be that a curious set of circumstances will be shown to belong to this time, though at present their exact position in Assyrian history must remain a matter of speculation. Ashur-uballiṭ in a letter to Amenophis IV speaks of Ashur-nadin-aḫḫe as his "father," though in actual fact he was not so, but only a distant relation at most; it seems most feasible on the present evidence that Ashur-nadin-aḫḫe was the son of Ashur-rim-nisheshu. The letter proves that Ashur-nadin-aḫḫe was in receipt of the gold doles so plentifully distributed by Amenophis III. It goes on to mention similar doles received, not by an Assyrian prince, but by the king of Ḫanigalbat. The point of the passage lies in the fact that precedents for giving a certain amount of gold are being quoted, and the context gives the impression that in some way a supremacy of the king of Ḫanigalbat intervened between the reigns of Ashur-nadin-aḫḫe and Ashur-uballiṭ. Now in the row of memorial stelae erected in honour of great officials of the land at Ashur there were three which recorded the names and titles of men who were viziers, *sukkallu*, of the king of Ḫanigalbat, and the style of the inscriptions might well belong to the end of the fifteenth century. In one case at least the characters

are not likely to have been written later, while the others could not be much earlier. There is then some evidence for believing that with Ashur-nadin-aḫḫe's reign the overlordship of Mitanni came to an end, and that the next Assyrian prince was a name and a shadow, while the land in reality belonged to the king of Ḫanigalbat, who appointed his own officers; that evidence is not decisive, and the ordering of the viziers of Ḫanigalbat at this point is a speculation. Did some such event take place, it would be natural to find in the reversion to the legitimate accession shown in the king lists a result of the blow to the interests of Mitanni. Eriba-Adad I, the son of Ashur-bel-nisheshu, was placed on the throne in pursuance of a policy directed against Mitanni.

There is another possible explanation which must be considered. There are passages in the 'Amarnah letters which lend colour to the view that Ḫanigalbat as a geographical expression was an alternative for Mitanni. Some would argue therefrom that the king of Ḫanigalbat, who received gold from Amenophis III, was Dushratta.[9] This possibility cannot be denied. But there seems to be some evidence in the earlier Hittite records that Ḫanigalbat was a mountain district east of the Euphrates, and it is certain that in later usage the land was a territory which did not correspond with Mitanni, but extended from the Ṭur 'Abdin past Nisibis southwards. There is little ground for assuming that politically the kingdom of Ḫanigalbat was a wider area at the time of Amenophis III. As to the people of this country, *Tamnu* are mentioned in Thothmes III's tribute list and members of this tribe appear in later Assyrian history as kings of Ḫanigalbat; of their speech and customs, nothing is known: their later rulers bore Semitic names, but no safe conclusion can be drawn from that. In earlier times, when Dudḫalia was king of the Hittites, the king of Ḫanigalbat had been allied with the king of Aleppo in resistance to the northern power. The Babylonians clearly despised the people of this land and classed them with the worst barbarians they knew. When the emissaries of Kadashman-Enlil, on their

return from Egypt, reported that they had not seen the Babylonian king's sister in the Pharaoh's harim, they said a woman had spoken to them who was "perhaps a low-class person's daughter, or one of the Ga(s)ga, or the daughter of a man of Ḫanigalbat, or it may even be of Ugarit." The Gasga, in later Assyrian Kaskai, were an exceptionally rude folk who lived in Asia between Lake Wan and the Euphrates; they were a perpetual danger to the Hittites, and seem to have belonged to a very low cultural level. Ugarit was similarly the extremely wild mountain country north of the Orontes valley. Further light on Ḫanigalbat, and the obscure incidents in Assyrian history with which it was connected, may be expected from archaeological work in the Nisibis area, if that is ever possible.

One inscription of Eriba-Adad I is extant, and that so broken that it reveals nothing. When he died Ashur-uballiṭ, his son, succeeded; to him fell the task which alone could place Assyria in a position to obtain and keep an independent position. Organisation of the resources and the man-power of the state was the first essential; and to enable that organisation to become effective, a space of time was needed. Reckless plunging into warfare would not serve the country's need. Of the early steps taken by Ashur-uballiṭ first to free his country, whether from Ḫanigalbat, as is probable, or from Mitanni, as is possible, no account is extant, and it is even uncertain when exactly his reign commenced. Probabilities of a chronological nature point rather to his accession after the death of Amenophis III, but during the lifetime of Dushratta. The first and most important step he must have taken was the organisation of the nation on a military basis. From this time onwards the nation of the Assyrians was an armed militia which turned out every year, if not for a military campaign, then for hunting and exercises. The practice has frequently been compared with the almost annual *razzia* of an Arab tribe, and the comparison has this much justice, that from the *razzia* evolves in Arabia even now the annual military exercises practised, for

example, by Ibn Sa'ud, the king of Najd. The Assyrian form was a highly developed one. Such annual exercises required a special social organisation, for while the peasant or town labourer served the king, fields lay fallow and industry ceased. How the Assyrian organisation dealt with this problem is partly revealed by the law code of the period, which was at least re-cast somewhere about this time. Thus it is known that the wives of soldiers who were taken prisoner in war were entitled to settlement on the land by the king; and probably similar arrangements were made for the yearly service. Officers and governors were required to make special provision for men serving the king. It should be noted that no standing army was created; the king's court was in part a body-guard, and the standing army for garrison purposes was not yet required. That was the creation of a later age, when the nation ruled an empire. Ashur-uballiṭ's task was not that; but for some years at this time he was engaged in building up Assyria till he could take advantage of the turns of fortune in Syria, where Shubbiluliu, Dushratta and Amenophis IV each played a curious game.

Dushratta met with various disasters at the beginning of his reign. He appears never effectually to have overcome his brother Artatama of Ḫurri; he lost the lands west of the Euphrates to Shubbiluliu; his hold upon the land of Assyria was at least relaxed, and very possibly he had to contend with an independent and by no means powerless king of Ḫanigalbat. Within his restricted kingdom he maintained himself for many years, and Amenophis III did him the honour of including his daughter Tadum-Ḫepa in the Egyptian harim shortly before his death. Amenhotep IV married this lady after his father's death, but she seems not to have been paid the same attention as her aunt Gilu-Ḫepa, a fact which possibly reflects the lesser importance of Mitanni. Exchanges of presents continued between the courts, and Dushratta with the aid of Ḫurri nobles, who had espoused his cause in considerable numbers, was able to regain

the greater part of the territory west of the Euphrates lost to Shubbiluliu at the beginning of his reign. The states of Asia Minor were very disturbed at this time, and the army of Shubbiluliu was engaged elsewhere; Syria returned to its old condition. Ḫurri nobles were installed in various principalities, and the former Egyptian boundary was restored.

Amenophis III died about 1375, with his empire to all appearance much the same as he had received it from his father. His successor, the famous Akhnaton, attempted to rule his foreign dominions by the same methods, but apparently with a much diminished treasury. The princes of Syria immediately became loud in their protests and mutual recriminations; the great powers had no respect for a man so much less generous than his father. The Egyptian empire was doomed so soon as the Nubian gold was expended. Dushratta was the real prop of the young king in Syria. But even in his time intrigue was rife, and the movement of northern peoples into Palestine began. Individual bedouin from the Aḫlamu section were serving in garrisons of the princes; men with Subaraean and even Hittite names appear as governors, together with others who must have belonged to the strain which bore Indo-Iranian names. Unfortunately, the decisive point for the exact chronology, namely the death of Dushratta, remains unknown. In all probability it was not much before, and not long after, 1370 B.C.

The Mitanni king died a violent death, for the old faction broke out more violently between the pro-Egyptian and anti-Egyptian parties. The extant accounts of this are given from two points of view, but they agree very closely. Artatama of Ḫurri was still in possession of certain royal properties, and during Dushratta's reign he expended his fortune in gaining the alliance of Assyria and the land Alshe. The Assyrian king who thereby profited must have been Ashur-uballiṭ, who was ready to attack Dushratta for intelligible reasons. The appearance of Alshe as a separate power is surprising. Shubbiluliu had attacked the district earlier; perhaps he had appointed

a vassal king there who had succeeded in wresting to himself the territories of Ḫanigalbat. The next step was to instigate an intrigue at Dushratta's court, and this was successful. Dushratta fell by the hand of his own son, assisted by his servants. Artatama at once claimed and obtained the kingship of the land. Teshub, the Subaraean god, "judged his judgment," that is, in a religious ceremony of the kind to which every Oriental monarch of those times had to submit, Artatama was duly chosen as sovereign by the expression of the god's will in omens or otherwise.

The new turn of events was not, as might have been thought, immediately in favour of the Hittites. Shubbiluliu's support of Artatama had been too cautious for that; he had, it is true, secured the safety of the king of the Ḫurri by the campaign east of the Euphrates, but, for reasons of policy, he had left Dushratta on the throne of Mitanni. The anti-Egyptian party was disgusted, and was confident that with its new allies it could maintain itself. But these same allies had objects of their own to pursue, and besides receiving further payments, demanded of Shutarna, the new regent in Mitanni, the surrender of certain nobles who had proved objectionable. The pro-Egyptian party was subjected to a bitter persecution, and knew not where to turn. Aki-Teshub, the leader, was in possession of the person of Mattiuaza, a young son of Dushratta's, and decided to leave his own land on a desperate venture. The only directions in which flight was possible lay south-west and south-east. The flight to the south-west, though it would lead ultimately to Egypt, had no attraction; Shubbiluliu's attitude to a pro-Egyptian party in Syria was not likely to be friendly, and on Egyptian territory the Ḫurri nobles could not win estates by right of the sword. The south-eastern direction was chosen, perhaps on the assumption that the Kassite king would prove friendly, and the little band of desperate nobles, numbering 200 chariots, say four (or six) hundred men in all, marched down the Euphrates valley. Able to move at a considerable speed, and numerous enough to

secure their own safety from surprise attack, they reached Babylonian territory, where their reception showed a better state of preparedness than the usual military slackness in Babylonia would have permitted. The ruling Kassite (Burnaburiash II ?) first seized the baggage lines, perhaps by a stratagem; then he had a force advance to meet the now dismounted and exhausted Ḫurri. The result of such a conflict might have been foretold in advance, but one prize, the young prince Mattiuaza, escaped from the battlefield, accompanied by two nobles, and two chariot attendants, in all three chariots. The only possible route to follow must have been across the desert, keeping as near to the Euphrates as circumstances permitted. The story of a gallant adventure has not been revealed by antiquity; Mattiuaza's final arrival at the court of the Hittite king was ascribed to "the gods of the Sun, the king of the Hittites, and the gods of Mitanni." The words conveyed all that was required at this time in the ancient East; they leave the modern mind to its imagination.

When Mattiuaza reached the court at the Hittite capital, he was well received. Shubbiluliu, in accordance with the policy he adopted throughout his reign, posed as the benevolent friend of the kingdom of Mitanni itself, though he was the enemy of the Ḫurri princes of Syria. But his time was not yet, and the boy Mattiuaza waited for ten years after his father's death before steps of an active kind could be taken to restore him to the throne he claimed. Shubbiluliu's position at this time was extremely difficult, and there is a letter from him in the 'Amarnah correspondence which may have been addressed to Amenophis IV, though the name given the Pharaoh, Ḫuria, does not agree with the general rendering of Amenophis IV's name in cuneiform; it is also possible, but improbable, that the letter was sent to Tut-'ankh-Amen.[10] If the latter be the correct explanation, the "father" of Ḫuria would be Amenophis IV, and it is stated that this "father" approached Shubbiluliu with the object of concluding an alliance, which was not actually granted. It is equally possible that

Amenophis III took such a step just before his death. The letter shows in any case the change in Shubbiluliu's attitude; events after Dushratta's death in Mitanni inclined him towards Egypt for a time. The reason lay in the increasing power of Assyria, and the hostile attitude of the Ḫurri nobles towards himself. Without taking any overt steps, he tried to relieve the necessities of the persecuted adherents of the old pro-Egyptian party, and declared his opinion very frankly that Mitanni was ruined by the new administration.

Ashur-uballiṭ's intervention in the affairs of Mitanni on behalf of Artatama had been so successful that he now ventured to call himself "the great king" and address Amenophis IV as his "brother"; previously he had been merely "king of Assyria." He had more than regained the position lost when Saushshatar had carried away the golden and silver doors, which were now returned to Assyria. Shutarna, the new regent in Mitanni, expended a great deal of wealth on Alshe and Assyria, and payments of this kind can only be considered tribute to overlords; Alshe and Assyria did in fact divide the land of Mitanni, but the extent of their respective dominions is not stated. The growth of Assyrian power was jealously watched not only by Shubbiluliu but also by the Kassite, Burnaburiash. The relations between Egypt and Babylonia had suffered not a complete rupture but a cessation at the beginning of his reign, at the time when Aki-Teshub's venture failed. Watching events, the Kassite king first renewed the interchange of ambassadors with Amenophis IV, and then laid a formal complaint against the Egyptian connection with Assyria. To this not much attention was paid; facts had to be recognised, and Ashur-uballiṭ sent good presents, an Assyrian royal chariot and two white horses from the royal stable. These white horses were valuable, and seem to have been regularly bred in Assyria, for in legal documents an extreme penalty was often the gift of a white horse to a temple. But Amenophis IV had in fact nothing to hope for from Assyria; if he vainly imagined that the rising power would attempt to intervene in Syria, he had mis-

understood Ashur-uballiṭ's character. That sovereign was intent upon profiting from the Syrian situation in the lands nearer home.

Egyptian power does not seem to have suffered notably through the loss of support in Mitanni; and throughout at any rate the greater part, and possibly all, of Amenophis IV's reign the Egyptian officers continued to exercise some sort of control at the courts of the native princes, though the fall of the empire became ever more imminent. The province of Amurru provides the best material for a general survey of the time, since a fairly consecutive account of happenings there can be given. The Egyptians used the term Amurru quite vaguely; in the 'Amarnah correspondence and in the Boghaz Keui documents it is generally used of an administrative area which reached from Lebanon to the sea, and stretched from a point south of Kadesh to Simyra in the north and probably included Damascus to the south. In general, the continual aim of the native prince of this district was to hold Ṣumur (Simyra) open as a port, thereby avoiding the thoroughly Egyptianised Byblos, which was governed by an independent princeling, and wherever possible to suppress local princes within his area. The founder of a line of princes, Abd-Ashirta, was appointed by a Pharaoh, who is in all probability to be identified as Amenophis III; for a time he ruled as a faithful subject of Egypt under the supervision of an Egyptian resident, but he had considerable difficulties to deal with in securing the safety of his cities against the intrusion of a small tribe called the Sheḫlal. In the end he found it impossible to control the Ḫabiru who were marching southwards in increasing numbers, and since the independent prince of Byblos had succeeded in alienating the Pharaoh's support from Abd-Ashirta, he definitely threw in his lot with the Aramaeans, while following a sufficiently tortuous course to avoid an open collision with the Pharaoh of the time, probably Amenophis IV. His aim everywhere was to attack Rib-Addi of Byblos, who, in his own interests, was a more patriotic Egyptian than any native Egyptian. In the towns of Ambi and

Irqata Abd-Ashirta intrigued for and secured the assassination of the local rulers, and the towns were then opened to the Ḫabiru; the city of Ardata was captured by a protégé of his. Botrys was torn from Rib-Addi by the same means as Ambi. Finally, after failing to have Rib-Addi murdered, he attacked his territory three times, and did, in fact, succeed in creating a strong anti-Egyptian party in Byblos. But his position was not really secure, and he could not have faced an Egyptian army; his allies demanded continual supplies, and when he fell sick, some unknown persons took the opportunity of making away with him—and thereby doubtless earned a good reward from Rib-Addi.

The person was removed, the movement went on under Abd-Ashirta's sons and followers, who were led by Aziru, the heir. After a *razzia* in the east of his territory, on Qatna, Aziru entered Simyra, in defiance of Abi-milki of Tyre, conquered the little princedom of Niya and threatened Tunip. There was a general rising in his favour from Ugarit, in the northern Orontes valley, southwards to Byblos. In the two small ports on the coast, Ambi and Shigati, he placed small fleets to prevent shipping entering there. His best ally was Zimrida of Sidon, who was engaged in the venture through his enmity with Tyre; Aiṭaggama, who had returned from the Hittite court to Kadesh, was encouraged to murder the Egyptian resident in his capital city. But all Aziru's efforts were directed ultimately against Byblos, and in fact he did secure a general alliance against Byblos, and the royal family in Byblos itself became divided; Rib-Addi's wife, family, "the whole city" urged that he should ally himself with Aziru, but he went to Berut (Beyrouth) to obtain help, and found on his return that his brothers had incited a rebellion and that the city gates were closed against him. He appears to have fled secretly to Sidon, but his refuge was known to Aziru, who had him handed over to the city governor; Rib-Addi's fate was sealed. Therewith the immediate object of the Amorites was attained; but the Egyptian now for once—almost certainly some few years before the end of Amenhotep IV's reign—

began to exert his authority. The Pharaoh in a letter roundly told Aziru he was a liar, accused him of being the ultimate cause of Rib-Addi's death, and of having entered into treacherous alliances with the pro-Hittite Aitaggama and the Hittite king's ambassador. For these reasons Aziru was actually driven out of Amurru for a while, and the Amorite did not dare to defy the decision. His place of refuge seems to have been Tunip, and while there he received orders to go to Egypt. By this time Shubbiluliu had already undertaken a new war in Syria, and Aziru excused himself on this ground and because of his enmity with the king of Nuhashshi. Finally, however, he was bound to submit, though he attempted to secure guarantees that no harm should befall him. But all Amurru was disturbed by the absence of Aziru, and when he was detained in Egypt his son wrote plainly stating that revolt was imminent; either Aziru must return or war was inevitable. The triumphant return of the Amorite was thereby assured, though doubtless he had given large promises of loyalty to Egypt. Up to the last years of Amenophis IV's reign, then, the Pharaoh was still the overlord; his vacillating policy notwithstanding, he was able to remove and reappoint native princes. The weakness of the Egyptian empire in Asia lay in reality in its organisation. The system of government by native princes under the eye of an officer who was little more than a tax collector and spy, borrowed from the Nile valley, was unsuited to Syria unless the overlord was ready to suppress local rivalries, and constantly to use his own troops and treasure on behalf of others. The Egyptian failed to do this, and six hundred years passed before a better method was devised.

From this point onwards, the history of Western Asia depends for about twenty years on the interpretation of evidence afforded by Hittite records. It is impossible to neglect that evidence, it is equally impossible to feel certain of any interpretation at present. It appears from the documents concerned that some eighteen or nineteen years after Shubbiluliu's first campaign into Syria shortly after Dushratta's accession,

the Hittite king's officers were engaged in some negotiations with Egyptians, during the reign of a Pharaoh called Bibḫururia[11] by the Hittites, who had married a lady who bore a title, *daḫ-amun*, possibly as a priestess. The negotiations were actually concluded, and the oath before the chief Hittite god had already been sworn, when the Hittites broke the agreement, and Shubbiluliu decided on war. Exactly twenty years after his earlier campaign, he marched to the territories he had lost, and was particularly engaged in reducing Kadesh. In the next year, his old enemies in Asia Minor east of the Euphrates, the Gasga, were stirring, possibly under inducements from elsewhere. Shubbiluliu was able to deal with them, and to lead a campaign to the Orontes valley in the same year, to Amga, now called the Beqa'. To these enterprises the Egyptians in the next summer ventured a reply; they sent an expedition to recover Kadesh while Shubbiluliu's generals were still engaged in Amga. The two armies may have met in battle; but at this point a strange incident took place. The Pharaoh Bibḫururia died, shortly after hearing of a defeat in Amga. His widow sent a letter requesting that a son of Shubbiluliu be given her in marriage, since Bibḫururia had left no son to inherit the throne. The Hittite king sent an ambassador to Egypt, to spy out the true situation, after a consultation with his nobles, but continued to prosecute his own aims in Syria; his immediate task, the reduction of Carchemish and the installation of his son Biyashshilish as king there, was brought to a successful issue before further negotiations took place. The Hittite ambassador was detained in Egypt, an Egyptian emissary was sent to the Hittite king; but Shubbiluliu remained suspicious. The Egyptian queen made one more appeal, and gained her point. A son of Shubbiluliu's actually went to Egypt, but was murdered immediately after his arrival or while on his way there.

The main difficulty arising from this narrative of events is to be certain of the identity of the Pharaoh, Bibḫururia, and his widow; it has been suggested that they may represent Amenophis IV and Nefertiti, or

Tut-'ankh-Amen and 'Ankh-s-n-Amen. There is also the bare possibility that Smenkhkere and Merit-Aten, who reigned as co-equals with Amenophis IV at the end of his reign and for a few months after, must be considered. Chronology seems rather to favour the first hypothesis; if it be correct, a very vivid picture of Egyptian court life at the end of the heretic's reign is afforded by these details. Nefertiti's desperate action in turning to the Hittite would be a definite proof of the extent to which the royal circle had come to depend on foreign aid.

The murder of the Hittite prince seems to have been followed by a correspondence between the new Pharaoh (Smenkhkere, or Tut-'ankh-Amen ? or Ai ?), and Shubbiluliu in which they mutually defied one another. The exact nature of the campaign in the fourth year of this Syrian war is not clear, save that it entailed the taking of Egyptian prisoners by the Hittites and their internment in Asia Minor; from the Egyptian prisoners' camp there spread a plague which raged for twenty years. From this time the Egyptian war did not occupy the Hittite king; its conduct was entrusted to his eldest son, Arnuanda. Shubbiluliu turned now against Mitanni, and it is possible that he did so because he believed that disorders in Asia Minor amongst the Gasga were promoted from there. For diplomatic purposes he was able to put forward an excellent, if somewhat belated, reason for interference, since Mattiuaza was still at his court. He married the prince to his daughter and sent his son the king of Carchemish with him to win back the kingdom from Shutarna. To the end he could pose as the one true friend of Mitanni, since on no occasion did he or the Hittite army as such ever cross the Euphrates or march south of the northern mountain boundary of that land. While the rightful claimant at last made his effort to recapture the throne, with the support of his nearest neighbour, Shubbiluliu himself was engaged in the task of attempting to reduce the Gasga once more. If, as is possible, these outbreaks of the Gasga were inspired from the south, then the Hittite king was fighting on two fronts to

achieve the desired result, the suppression of his enemies in the lands east of Euphrates.

The task of Biyashshilish and Mattiuaza was undertaken from Carchemish, conquered two years earlier. They first attempted to seduce the Ḫurri nobles in the city of Irrite, which must have been just across the border. But Mattiuaza was unable to secure any support; his father's party had ceased to exist. The pretender and his ally accordingly marched east and were met outside Irrite by a detachment of the Ḫurri sent by Shutarna; they were completely successful in the encounter, and marched on to Washshukkanni, and there again none was ready to accept Mattiuaza. Shutarna was engaged in effecting a junction with the Assyrian army which had been sent to his aid. The Hittite army entered the capital of Mitanni for the first time, and then marched onwards. The trend of events was too clearly against Shutarna for his land to remain faithful; the city Pagarriti opened its gates to Mattiuaza. Report said that the Assyrian army was now at last advancing, but in fact they would not approach Pagarriti, a spot in the desert where the Hittite army was already on short rations, or Nilabsheni, a similar town. Unfortunately, the further account of the campaign is broken away on the document, and it is impossible to say exactly how far Biyashshilish and Mattiuaza marched eastwards, and exactly how far the issue of the war was completely in their favour. But Biyashshilish must have been engaged for at least some part of the time on the southern bank of the Euphrates, for several cities, including Tirqa, the old capital of Ḫana, were reckoned in his territory when at the end of the year Shubbiluliu drew up the treaty with Mattiuaza which recognised the latter as independent king of Mitanni, under certain conditions. It is not, therefore, probable that, even if the Assyrian army suffered a severe defeat, any great blow was delivered to Assyria itself. On the other hand, Biyashshilish's increase of territory, imposing in its way, was of a kind ultimately to weaken his resources.

Shubbiluliu's campaign in the same year against

the Gasga was in so far successful that he also was able to claim new territory; but in the next year the Gasga were besieging a city in his own territories. The land east of Euphrates was in fact intractable, and no Hittite king seems ever finally to have established his power there. The course of events from this point on for about four years is unknown; during that time the remnant of Egyptian power in Palestine disappeared, and finally Shubbiluliu himself passed away. The greatest of all the Hittite kings, he had made the Hittite people the predominant power in Syria. One son, Telibinush, once a priest in Qizzuwadna, was king of Aleppo, another, Biyashshilish, king of Carchemish; his nephew, Ḫutubiyanza, was engaged in dealing with the troublesome tribes between the Euphrates and Lake Wan; his son-in-law was king of Mitanni. Aziru, king of Amurru, now an old man, and Tette, king of Nuḫashshi, were bound by treaty to the allegiance of the Hittite king, Qizzuwadna acknowledged him as overlord.

Imposing as the Hittite power was, Ashur-uballiṭ of Assyria had little to fear from it. His army had perhaps been defeated in Mitanni when sent to support Shutarna; but within a year of Shubbiluliu's death the Assyrian had regained his position in Mitanni, Biyashshilish and Mattiuaza disappeared, and the kingdom of Carchemish had lost its southern acquisitions. There is no record of the campaign or campaigns in which Ashur-uballiṭ secured his recovery of the lost predominance; the fact is known from the frank admission of a Hittite king. Shubbiluliu's eldest son, Arnuanda II, died shortly after his accession, and when his brother Murshilish came to the throne, the Hittite state was already considerably reduced.[12] The lands of Asia Minor, Gasga, Arauwanna, Kalashma, Lugga, Pitashsha, had rebelled; Qizzuwadna no longer accepted the position of vassal, but had turned to the Ḫurri; Arzawa claimed independence. Mitanni was lost, and the inference that it was Ashur-uballiṭ who regained his ascendancy there is inevitable, for a successor refers to him as the "one who scattered the forces of the wide-flung Subaraean country."

The interesting feature is that there is no evidence whatever that Ashur-uballiṭ made any attempt to do more than this. When it was open to him to play a part in Syria, he seems deliberately to have turned away to pursue his plans elsewhere. The wisdom of the decision is obvious, its moderation deserves admiration. Not every Oriental monarch has had the courage to turn away from the prospect of great booty in Syria in order to face the pressing problem of subduing and ruling troublesome mountaineers upon his borders.

What precise action Ashur-uballiṭ took upon his northern and eastern borders is unknown. The kingdom of Alshe, which had once taken part with him in the reaction against Mitanni, disappeared from history as an important factor very shortly after its first emergence; possibly there were unchronicled wars waged by Ashur-uballiṭ in that direction. One land, Muṣri, he is reported by a descendant to have conquered; but the position of that land is not certainly known.[13] From the statements of Tiglathpileser I concerning a campaign there it is to be inferred that the principal city was named Arini and that it bordered on the land of Qumani. Some see in this last name the Cappadocian Commana, and believe Arini to be the holy city of Arinna which lay somewhere in the extreme east of Cilicia. In view of the information now to be derived from the Hittite records it is certain that Muṣri cannot lie so far west, and Qumani or Uqumani must be a land which is known to be east of the Tigris. On the evidence at present available it is best to suppose that Muṣri is a hill district somewhere east or south-east of Irbil, though some think it identical with the Muzur-Dagh which is that part of the Anti-Taurus that stretches from Malatia to Erzingan. If Muṣri was in fact in the eastern hills, Ashur-uballiṭ's action was probably intended to secure the important caravan road which led in the direction of the modern town of Sulaimaniah; from that direction came the precious stones which the gem-engravers of the time preferred for the best specimens of their art. What kind of life was lived in the districts east of Euphrates is revealed in part by the documents from Kirkuk; the

population in the most important cities was for the greater part Subaraean, though there was a small proportion of Assyrians, and the social life and legal customs of the people varied somewhat from that in the Assyrian homeland.

There are two short accounts of Ashur-uballiṭ's relations with Babylonia; one is in the so-called "Synchronous History," which gave a brief account of the history of the border between the two countries down to the time of Adad-nirari III, 811–782, the other is in a Babylonian Chronicle, a work of uncertain date which may not be earlier than the Assyrian record.[14] The latter document states that Kara-indash (I?) married Muballiṭat-Erua, the daughter of Ashur-uballiṭ, and his son, Kadashman-ḫarbe (I) ordered great massacres of the Sutu "from East to West," until their military forces were no more. He constructed a fortress in the midst of the hill range in the Syrian desert called Ḫi-ḫi, opened a well and a reservoir there, and set some colonists there in security to act as a garrison. Afterwards his Kassite subjects rebelled from him and murdered him, and appointed one of their own number, Shuzigash, who was not of royal birth, king. Ashur-uballiṭ marched to avenge his grandson Kadashman-ḫarbe into Babylonia. The "Synchronous History," on the other hand, states that in the time of Ashur-uballiṭ Karaḫardash, king of Babylonia, the son of Muballiṭat-Sherua, the daughter of Ashur-uballiṭ, was killed by the mutinous Kassite army, which appointed Nazibugash, one of their own number who was not of royal birth, king. Ashur-uballiṭ marched to avenge his grandson, killed Nazibugash, and set Kurigalzu the Young (III), the son of Burnaburiash, on the throne. The two accounts differ widely in their versions of the Kassite king's names, and it will only be possible to decide which is in error when the Kassite kings of the period are known from an authentic Babylonian document nearer to their own period; that the errors are of a simple scribal kind is very probable. The main facts are clear. When that Burnaburiash who had complained to Amenhotep IV of his commerce with Ashur-uballiṭ

passed away, the new Kassite king cemented an alliance with Assyria by marrying Ashur-uballiṭ's daughter. When this king in turn was succeeded by his son, the Kassite army was set to perform an extremely difficult task, which was no doubt suggested by the Assyrian king. The revolt which broke out was probably inspired by a hatred of the Assyrian alliance; the Kassite army proved unable to withstand the northern power, and the Assyrian nominee was placed on the throne again in the person of Ashur-uballiṭ's grandson.

It would appear from this account that the Sutu were moving down the Euphrates at the end of Ashur-uballiṭ's reign, whereas at its commencement they were pressing northward across the Euphrates. Once again they were the vanguard of the Aramaean movement; the force immediately behind them, driving them from the desert oases, was the Aḫlamu, and they in turn were being pressed to the outskirts of the desert by some movement which can only be suspected in the central oases and in Edom and Moab. This incursion of the Sutu southwards, and eastwards, since it fell towards the very end of Ashur-uballiṭ's reign, is to be dated roughly to the period 1345 B.C.–1335 B.C., that is, to about the first decade of the reign of Haremhab, the Pharaoh who brought the confusion which ruled in Egypt after the death of Amenhotep IV to an end. It is known that he had to take energetic measures in the Delta to re-establish law and order, and it seems not impossible that the disturbance in Central and Western Arabia was due to some large migration at the beginning of his reign. The Sutu, pushed ever outwards, found it impossible to pass far north of the Euphrates, and hence were diverted to the desert which lay between Assyria and Babylonia, and even crossed the Tigris. The campaign waged by the Kassite king against them possesses a singular interest; it is the only known occasion on which the Babylonians actually faced the Aramaeans in the desert itself, and went so far as to garrison a fortress there. This first clash with the Sutu left an indelible memory. The poet who composed the Irra-myth[15] must have had this period in his mind

when he wrote the story of the time when the anger of the gods was directed against his country, and the plague-god and the Sutu were chosen as the means to decimate his people. But he was able to look forward to a time when Assyrian would destroy Assyrian, Sutu-tribesman his fellow-tribesman, Lullubu Lullubu, that the Akkadian might survive in triumph. The poem tells of the embassy of Ishum the messenger of the gods to the hill range Ḫi-ḫi, and of the destruction of that Babylonian fortress which Ashur-uballiṭ's grandson constructed. The author must have lived long after this time, and he gives an heroic account of pedestrian facts.

At the close of Ashur-uballiṭ's reign the Assyrian kingdom was independent, held its immediate neighbours tributary, and exercised some influence in Babylonia. As important as the freedom which the long-lived king had brought his country was the organisation of society and the administration instituted for military purposes. Henceforth Assyria was capable yearly of putting its man-power into the field as a trained militia; thereby permanent independence might possibly be secured for the country.

CHAPTER XVI

THE GROWTH OF THE ASSYRIAN KINGDOM

TABLE 6.—COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF WESTERN ASIA FROM ABO 1340–1200.

	ASSYRIA.	BABYLONIA.	HITTITES.	EGYPT.
1340—	—	— Kurigalzu, 23.	Murshilish II.	Harmhab.
1330—	Enlil-nirari, s. of A.-uballiṭ.			
1320—	Arik-den-ili, s.	—		— Rameses I. Seti.
1310—	— Adad-nirari I, s.	Nazimaruttash, s., 26.	Muwattalish, s.	
1300—			Urhi-Teshub	— Rameses II.
1290—		— Kadashman-turgu, s., 17.	Ḫattushilish, b.	
1280—	— Shalmaneser I, s. (20 + yrs.)			
1270—		— Kadashman-Enlil, s., 6.		
1260—		— Kudur-Enlil, 9.		
1250—	— Tukulti-Enurta I, s. (30 + yrs.)	— Shagarakti-Shuriash, s., 13.	Dudḫaliash, s.	
1240—		— Kashtiliash, s., 8.		
		— T.-E. = Enlil-nadin-shum, 1½. Kadashman-ḫarbe, 1½. Adad-shum-iddin, 6.		— Merneptah.

TABLE 6.—*Continued.*

	ASSYRIA.	BABYLONIA.	HITTITES.	EGYPT.	
		Adad-shum-nasir.	Arnuandash, s.		
				Amenmose.	
	Ashurnadinapal, s., 4 yrs.			Rameses-Siptah.	1209
				Seti II.	1214
	Ashur-nirari IV, 6 yrs.			Anarchy.	
			Dudhaliash, s.	Setnakht.	
	Enlil-kudur-uṣur I. 6 yrs.			Rameses III.	1198
	Enurta-apal-ekur, 13 yrs.	Meli-Shipak, s.			

THE kingdom which Ashur-uballiṭ handed to his successor Enlil-narari was in a fortunate position; it needed only prudent and energetic rulers to assure the prosperity of its inhabitants and their security from foreign oppression. Rash indulgence in imperial schemes of a nature which should exhaust the man-power of the country would quickly lead to the loss of the reserve strength which Ashur-uballiṭ had built up; and his successors were wise enough to follow consistently his policy. The difficulty which every Assyrian king had to face during the ensuing period was that of the maintenance of security on the main caravan roads. That towards the Euphrates was now fairly assured by the downfall of Mitanni, though there still remained the task of securing a passage across the Euphrates; northwards there was at this time no kingdom powerful enough to interfere with Assyrian trade. But in the narrow valleys of the Zagros range various small principalities, not without a smattering of culture derived from the times of Babylonian domination in the third millennium, lay across the main routes. On those routes there were situated towns which themselves had some aspirations to become the central markets, to usurp

the commercial position which created the great Assyrian towns, and to deflect the traffic on which the Assyrian industrial population depended. These principalities were, in cases where they opposed Assyria, assured of the support of the Kassites, who perforce regarded the gradual increase of Assyrian power with alarm; any interference in the hills necessarily resulted in a war with Babylonia. Finally there was the constant threat of Aramaean encroachment across the desert to the lands east of Tigris, which had first arisen in Ashur-uballiṭ's time. The task of his successors was not merely, then, to march through wild country periodically in order to pursue more glorious aims elsewhere, but to win, rule, and, if possible, finally absorb them in the Assyrian kingdom, an infinitely more difficult task.

Of Enlil-narari little is known, and it is probable that he reigned for only a short time. Kurigalzu (III) the Young, his distant cousin, made an attempt to win back the lost lands east of the Tigris which had formed the subject of dispute from the time of Burna-buriash I and Puzur-Ashur IV. The two armies met at the city of Sugagi on the Tigris. The Kassites were flushed with victory. Kurigalzu had fought a successful campaign against the dissident remnants of the old Sea-Land people, and had defeated the Elamite king Ḫurbatila at Dur-Shulgi, a fortress founded by the great king of the Third Dynasty of Ur in the district east of the Sea-Land. On the first occasion that the armies met, the Babylonians were doubtless able to claim some success. On the second, Enlil-narari won a crushing victory, and Kurigalzu himself seems to have been killed. The old boundary, favourable to Assyria, was restored, and the victory was reckoned for many years as a great triumph for the Assyrian army.

Arik-den-ilu succeeded his father, and the proof that but a short time had elapsed since the death of Ashur-uballiṭ is to be found in the fact that the office of *limu* was held in his reign by Berutu, a son of Eriba-Adad I. The main tasks undertaken by Arik-den-ilu both lay in hill districts. In the district opposite the Judi-Dagh known throughout Assyrian

history as Kummuḫ,[1] Arik-den-ilu undertook a campaign against an attempted invasion, for his son states that he "conquered Kummuḫ and all its allies, the warriors of the Aḫlamu and Sutu, the Yauri and their lands." The passage implies that the Aramaean tribesmen, who had been checked for a time in their effort to break into the Tigris valley in the south, had now turned north, and were trying to secure allies immediately to the north of Assyria. Clearly Mitanni was becoming more and more impossible for the bedouin. The resistless pressure from the south in the desert itself obviously remained very strong. It seems probable that at this time all the open country west of Tigris was ranged by the tribesmen; they kept a considerable distance from the cities, but the plain was theirs until an Assyrian army appeared. Their alliance with the hill-men on the west bank of the Tigris opposite the Judi-Dagh, was casual and accidental; those hill-men were always ready to fight with anybody against the Assyrians, but they served no other than their own immediate purpose, the desire to be free from civilised restraint. The Aramaean effort in the north was casual, and did not constitute a dangerous and continuous threat to Assyrian safety, as the movement in the south was to prove. Arik-den-ilu dealt with the danger immediately and apparently effectively; the Aḫlamu and Sutu appeared far north again in Assyrian history, but they were not successful there, and this is the only occasion on which the Yauri and their lands are ever mentioned.

In the Zagros a rather different task awaited him. There a small kingdom in the ranges immediately east of Arbela had been formed by a man called Esini. It does not appear to have had any permanent elements in its constitution; the name of the kingdom, Nigimṭi, quickly passed away. Esini seems to have been a man of considerable importance, and when he faced the Assyrian he was supported by his southern neighbours, the Turukku, a tribe which intermittently interfered in the affairs of Babylonia as early as the time of the First Dynasty.[2] The commencement of Arik-den-ilu's connection with him seems to have been peaceful,

but finally war broke out between the two, and in the campaigns that ensued fighting took place, possibly in the district round Nineveh.[3] The significance of these events is unknown, largely owing to the wretched condition of the tablet which records the campaign. The document has one special interest. It may be the first of the Assyrian royal inscriptions in which a yearly record of the events of the reign was given. This development of the building inscription into an annalistic historical record was purely Assyrian; it was never adopted by the Babylonians. It is hardly possible to doubt that the Assyrians were influenced in this respect by the Hittites, who had written such records for many years though not in a strictly annalistic form.

Arik-den-ilu's son and successor, Adad-narari I, was the first of three great warriors who guided the fortunes of Assyria for some eighty years. The bare record of their victories is almost all that is now extant; there is no detailed account of each campaign. All that we know of Adad-narari, for instance, is contained in the triumphal introduction to his building inscriptions. In some of these a certain number of the conquests claimed are omitted, and it has been deduced from this that the territories named were lost during the king's lifetime.[4] The supposition receives some support from the fact that his successor had to fight new battles in these same territories, but that fact is not of any great weight in the argument, since these particular districts were only kept in subjection by constant campaigns throughout Assyrian history. Whether the deduction be strictly correct or not, it may readily be allowed that some of the districts claimed probably revolted and were for a time lost. The kingdom need not even in any particular year have included all of these lands. The point of interest is that Adad-narari aimed at including them, and took active steps to do so which were at least partially successful.

The text states that Adad-narari slew "the mighty, the army of the Kassites, the Quti, the Lullume and the Shubari, smashed all the enemies above and

below, trod their lands underfoot from Lubdi and Rapiqu to Eluḫat, conquered the cities Taidi, Shuri, Kaḫat, Amasaki, Ḫurra, Shuduḫi, Nabula, Ushshukani and Irridi, all Kashiari to Eluḫat, the fortress of Shudi, the fortress of Ḫarani to Carchemish which is on the Euphrates' bank," and ends in more general terms. A geographical order is observed by this list. The peoples enumerated first were the principal races of the Zagros hills south and east of the kingdom as ruled by Arik-den-ilu, and they are enumerated in order from south to north. The Kassite homeland, which was clearly the district attacked by Adad-narari, lay on the Elamite border, the Lullume were the people who inhabited the district round Ḫulwān, the Quti lay between. The Shubaru were spread over a large area which may have extended from the Ḫaniqin-Kirkuk road northwards. This eastern branch of the race was now quite isolated from the western branch, whose fortunes have been partly followed in previous chapters; that part of the stock which had been an element in the Assyrian race was now distinguished from the hill-men by centuries of history. In all these campaigns in the Zagros, Adad-narari was attacking the Kassite kings of Babylon in a quarter where their ultimate strength lay, for it was on the supply of recruits to the army from the Kassite homeland that they depended. The king of Babylon, Nazimaruttash, the son of Kurigalzu the Young, was at war with Adad-narari, and the armies fought at Kar-Ishtar-Akarsallu, which was perhaps a fortress in the hill country. The defeat of the Babylonian resulted, as usual, in a treaty in which the old boundary which was so distasteful was defined as the limit of the southern kingdom. It is to be noted that Adad-narari does not claim that these campaigns against the Kassites, Quti, Lullume and Shubari resulted in any definite acquisition of territory. They were conceived of by him as punitive campaigns against troublesome neighbours, to restore peace and good order on his frontier. Continual, and vigorous, campaigns are always necessary in such countries, and the waging of them was always a test of an Assyrian king.

The enemies "above and below" whom Adadnarari smashed, whether the expression means from east to west or from north to south, were the dissentient elements which were always at work, the nomads who swarmed the western desert, the hill-men of Sinjar and the Judi-Dagh. Within the Assyrian boundary from Rapiqu on the Euphrates just north of Sippar, and Lubdi, on the Tigris in about the same position as Baghdad, to Eluḫat, which lay perhaps at the western end of the Ṭur 'Abdin, there were many such districts, and throughout the ages they have caused and still cause intermittent trouble even to powerful rulers. The most important and interesting part of the list is that which details the towns conquered. Shuri, also called Suri, and Taidi or Taita, lay along the old northern boundary of Mitanni, where Shubbiluliu conducted his first campaign. Kaḫat and Amasaki, or Masak, lay perhaps in the neighbourhood of Nisibis. Washshukkanni, or Ushshukani, the old capital of Mitanni, was farther west. Kashiari, the Ṭur 'Abdin, had once been in the hands of Artatama of Ḫurri. All these cities and districts then lay along the extreme northern border or in the west of Mitanni. It is reasonable to conclude that the main portion of that kingdom, which had been won by Ashur-uballiṭ, had now been annexed, and that Adad-narari had received it as part of his heritage.

At this point Adad-narari's victories induced him to take a further step which brought him into Syria. The truth of the statement that he conquered the territory from Harran to Carchemish is not to be doubted; but it is difficult correctly to place this fact in its chronological order in the history of Syria, as known from the Hittite and Egyptian records. When Murshilish ascended the Hittite throne on the death of his brother Arnuanda, there was a general revolt in Asia Minor, which the new king was for many years engaged in suppressing; in this task he was partially successful if, as seems probable, the extant treaty between Shuna-ashshura, the king of Qizzuwadna, and a Hittite king does not really belong to the reign of Murshilish's successor.[5] His effort to stem the

crossing of the Upper Euphrates by the Gashga permanently failed, but he was able to impose his rule upon them. His strenuous campaigns in Arzawa, Western Cilicia, were apparently successful. Qizzuwadna he also recovered. Carchemish, where Biyashshilish was swept from the throne about the time of Arnuanda's death, must have been reconquered early in Murshilish's reign; he installed his brother, as king of Carchemish, to guard the Euphrates valley from any advance westwards by Ashur-uballiṭ in the second year of his reign. In Murshilish's ninth year the new king of Carchemish died, and the position was sufficiently serious to call for a campaign by the Hittite king, in the course of which he marched on from Carchemish to Ashtata,[6] and established himself in the capital city of that district, which reached along the right bank of the Euphrates to the Ḫabur mouth. It has been deduced from this fact that Ashtata had previously been attacked and captured by Ashur-uballiṭ, but the inference needs more support. While Murshilish was at Ashtata the king of Kadesh was brought to him and accepted as a vassal; he appointed his nephew, the son of the previous king, to govern in Carchemish, and Rimi-shar, the son of Telibinush, king of Aleppo. He then retired to Asia Minor by way of Togarmah.

The campaigns of Seti to recover Palestine must fall in the time of Murshilish. The Egyptian Pharaoh reached the Lebanon in his first campaign, and thereby restored the old Egyptian rule over all Palestine; in his third year he attacked the kingdom of Amurru, and then pushed northwards, and fought a battle with the Hittites in the Orontes valley. The issue of the battle is unknown; it is even uncertain whether the main Hittite forces were concerned at all, for the Hittite garrisons in Syria may really have been the opponents. Seti gained some sort of victory, but did not thereby extend his territory. Seti's reign covers the years 1321–1300 (or possibly 1314–1292), and Adad-narari I was at least in part contemporary with him, since the Assyrian's accession cannot be earlier than 1310, or more than a year or two later than 1300.

It is conceivable then that Seti's attempt on the Orontes valley and Adad-narari's conquest of the Harran-Carchemish area coincided roughly, that both these events fell at the end of Murshilish's reign and are to be accounted for by a temporary weakness of the Hittites owing to internal dissensions. It may, on the other hand, prove that Adad-narari's victory at Carchemish fell not in the first but in the second half of his reign, not, that is, in the time of Seti and Murshilish, but in that of Rameses II and Muwattallish.

Murshilish had set himself gradually to restore Hittite supremacy in Northern Syria; if there was any weakening in this respect at the end of his reign, it can only have been temporary. When Muwattallish, Murshilish's son and successor, was preparing to meet Rameses after the Pharaoh's campaigns so far north as Beyrouth, he was able to call on all the Syrian princes who had acknowledged the suzerainty of Shubbiluliu, namely, Naharina, Arvad, Carchemish, Kadesh, Nuḫashshi, Ugarit, Aleppo; since all the subject peoples of Asia Minor were represented in the army, Muwattallish must have been in an exceptionally strong position when he fought the battle of Kadesh, in 1296 (or 1288). This position he seems to have been able to maintain almost unimpaired until he died. If Adad-narari's capture of Carchemish took place during Muwattallish's reign, then it is not at present easy to explain the circumstances which permitted his success.

Whatever the true dating of this event may be, Adad-narari's attempt to capture and hold the city which commanded the principal bridge over the Euphrates was the logical outcome of his advance to the extreme limits of Mitanni. By Carchemish ran the main western road, and the caravan route to Cilicia. The failure to hold the city was due to the increased strength of the Hittites there; the flow of population southward from Asia Minor had created conditions far more favourable for the northern power than ever before. The attempt of Assyria was certain to be renewed, and if it failed, the only alternative was to secure a route by the mountains and across

the Upper Euphrates. Only so could the continually increasing demands of the Assyrian kingdom be met.

The prosperity which Adad-narari's victories brought is testified to by the extent of his building activities in the city of Ashur. The Ishtar temple and the combined temple for Anu and Adad were completely rebuilt by him and considerably changed; Ashur-nadin-aḫḫe's palace was rebuilt and the staircase which led from the terrace on which the city stood down to the plain was magnificently restored. The wall of the "New City" and the great quay wall were again put into good condition; this, the industrial quarter of the city, was doubtless increasing in population. This period was that in which the old Assyrian capital flourished; the solid architectural remains have been revealed by the excavator's spade, but of the furniture and objects of art which the city once held little now remains.

The date of Adad-narari's death, though of supreme importance for understanding the course of events, is not certainly fixed; it is not probable that it fell much before 1280, it may have been a decade or a little more later. He was succeeded by his son Shalmaneser I, 1275 who carried on his father's policy very faithfully. It is a misfortune that the events briefly mentioned in the inscriptions of this king have been obscured by modern controversies over the important question of geographical location. Since very diverse views of this vital matter have been advanced, it is only possible to proceed by the method of elimination, and to dismiss those which seem impossible and improbable in favour of the more reasonable or plausible; a governing principle must be to relate Shalmaneser's inscriptions to the events as known from elsewhere. His reign may have commenced about 1280 to 1270, it was over by about 1260 or 1250. Muwattallish was by this time dead, and his younger brother, Ḫattushilish,[7] who had held high office and governed some important provinces in Asia Minor, deposed Muwattallish's son, Urḫi-Teshub, and banished him first to Nuḫashshi and then to a Mediterranean island. The king of Mira,[8]

which lay somewhere near the southern coast of Asia Minor, west of Cilicia, apparently wrote to Rameses urging him to interfere on behalf of the deposed king. The Hittites were still nominally at war with Egypt, and Ḫattushilish, fearing active steps by the Pharaoh to take advantage of the civil war which had divided his kingdom, wrote to Kadashman-Turgu, the king of Babylon, Nazimaruttash's successor, and received a promise of Babylonian aid against Egypt in case of active operations. The issue remained in the balance for a short time, perhaps not a year; in his reply to the king of Mira Rameses was able to state that he had already concluded the treaty with the king of the Hittites.[9] Of that treaty there are two versions extant, one in Egyptian, one in Akkadian; it is dated to Rameses' twenty-first year, 1280–79 (or 1274–3). Its terms seem to be specially framed by powers willing to agree to a truce between themselves in order to face a third party, hostile to both. Soon after Ḫattushilish had sworn to observe it, he wrote to the new king of Babylon, probably Kadashman-Enlil; the letter cannot have been written more than a few months later than the treaty. The events from Muwattallish's death until the conclusion of the treaty cannot be allowed much more than three years, roughly 1282–1279 or 1274–1271. The position created by the new alliance lasted many years; Rameses' queen, Naptera, corresponded with Putu-Ḫebe, the Hittite queen, and even on one occasion expressed her desire to visit Asia Minor with her husband. This visit did not, in fact, happen, but in Rameses' thirty-fourth year, 1367 or 1359, the Hittite king came with some of his court to be present at the marriage of his daughter to Rameses. It is certain then that the two powers were continuously at peace for thirteen years or more, and the probability is that the whole of that period fell within the time of Shalmaneser I's reign in Assyria; since Ḫattushilish probably reigned until about 1250 B.C., it is to be remembered that the Hittite-Egyptian alliance may have been in force throughout the whole of his reign. When Ḫattushilish died, he left an apparently intact and peaceful kingdom to be ruled by his

wife, the daughter of a king of Qizzuwadna, in the interest of his young son Dudḫaliash.

The conditions, then, that Shalmaneser found existing west of the Euphrates were very different from those of his father's time. It is possible that the Assyrian threat, through Carchemish, to the Hittite supremacy in Northern Syria was a principal cause of the faithful observance of the treaty between the Egyptians and Hittites. The obvious anxiety displayed by Ḫattushilish to remain on good terms with the Babylonian court points in the same direction. In the letter to Kadashman-Turgu's son, there are two main themes, that the party led by the young king's vizier who opposed Hittite interference in Babylonia was acting treacherously, and that the king of Assyria was one not to be feared, but to be fought. It also appears from that letter that Bantishenni, the king of Amurru, who bears a Subaraean name which points to his being of Ḫurri extraction, was directly responsible to the Hittite king for his acts, and the latter does not hesitate to promise to secure satisfaction from him for the Babylonian. The Hittite remained, in fact, all powerful in Syria, and Bantishenni was no more than his creature. Since Shubbiluliu's time, Amurru had been in the hands of a series of adventurers, all bearing Subaraean names; the last, Bantishenni, was captured and carried off to Asia Minor by Muwattallish, and it was Ḫattushilish who restored him to his throne. Since this Hittite dominance prevailed for the greater part of Shalmaneser's reign, it is impossible to believe that the Assyrian king was able to penetrate into those districts of Asia Minor which had always belonged to the Hittites. Those geographical identifications which would demand a considerable invasion of Hittite territory are therefore rendered improbable by the historical situation.

Shalmaneser's first campaign after his accession was due to the aggressive action of a land with which Assyria now came into direct contact for the first time. "At that time, at the commencement of my priesthood, (when) the land Uruatri marched against

me and warred with me, did enemy actions, I prayed publicly to Ashur and the great gods my lords." Uruatri, or Uratri, is the later Urartu, which extended from south and west of Lake Urmiyah north-westwards to Lake Wan ; the inhabitants were numerous, warlike and well equipped, at least in the later periods revealed to us by excavations. It may be that even in Shalmaneser I's time the whole country was ruled by a single king, but the language used by the Assyrian annalist suggests that Urartu at this time was a confederation of principalities, which had joined to attack the Assyrian provinces that lay nearest to Lake Urmia. The cause of this attack is not mentioned ; but it is perhaps significant to note that the tendency to push southwards, which had manifested itself so much earlier in Syria, now becomes a permanent feature in the lands which lay north-east of Assyria. Since the Hittite empire was a stable power throughout Shalmaneser's time, it is impossible to suppose that this tendency originated through a pressure from the west ; it may therefore be that the people north of Armenia, the Umman Manda who are mentioned in the Hittite Law Code, were the principal factor in the origin of this movement. But this first and premature move was checked without much difficulty by the Assyrians, thanks to the mobility of their militia. The army was rapidly in the field against the invaders, and Shalmaneser claims to have overrun eight provinces, and sacked fifty-one townships. " In three days I made the land Uruatri to bend in submission at the feet of Ashur " the inscription runs ; the modern reader is left in doubt as to whether Shalmaneser's battles with the enemy lasted three days, or whether the provinces marched through were so insignificant that they lay within three days' march, or whether the symbolic ceremony of making the captives bow down before the Assyrian god lasted three days.[10] Of the three alternatives, the second is the least credible, for in that country it would be impossible to cover many miles in three days, and fifty-one townships represent a considerable area. The true alternative is most probably the third. Shalmaneser's campaign was

obviously conducted on the boundary of Urarṭu, and was a punitive expedition; he did not claim to have annexed any territory.

It was apparently in the same year that the Assyrians sacked and razed to the ground the city of Arinni.[11] This has been identified by some with the sacred Arinna of the Hittites which lay perhaps in Cilicia; but the history of Asia Minor at this time renders it inconceivable that Shalmaneser reached a point so far within the Hittite borders. The Arinni meant must be a city which lay near Muṣri,[11] near the territories of the Uqumani or Qumani, in the eastern hills. From Arinni Shalmaneser marched to Muṣri, and that land accepted his overlordship.

From north-east and east, attention was next turned to the north-west, where a situation of considerable interest had developed. Adad-narari had extended his dominion northwards, and had conquered cities which lay near Nisibis without attacking that important centre, the capital of Ḫanigalbat. At the beginning of Shalmaneser's reign Shattuara[12] took steps to reassert the supremacy of Ḫanigalbat by enlisting the support of Hittite soldiery and the Aḫlamu. The Assyrian text does not state that Shattuara, whose name is Subaraean, or rather Ḫurrian, was in alliance with the king of the Hittites, Ḫattushilish, and silence on this point is rather against the supposition of such an alliance. It must be remembered that Ḫattushilish's reign was, on the whole, peaceful, and that the Hittite aristocracy, who lived by war, may have been willing to engage in a military adventure elsewhere. The Aḫlamu were the same portion of that Aramaean brotherhood who, wandering northwards, had previously been allied with the men of Kummuḫ, in Arik-den-ilu's time. When Shalmaneser marched northwards, hoping to use the narrow artificial roads made with logs, and the difficult fords which had been previously constructed, he found that Shattuara had already taken possession of his watering-places and the fords. Thirsty and weary, the Assyrian army flung itself upon the main body of the enemy, the king at their head. Shalmaneser's victory was

complete; Shattuara fled, unwilling to face the *mêlée*, and could only be pursued by the Assyrian in a chariot, but he was never nearer than bow-shot range. Shalmaneser claims to have taken 14,400 prisoners, 9 "holy" cities, Shattuara's capital (doubtless Nisibis), and to have sacked 180 townships. The Hittite and Aḫlamu soldiery were sacrificed in the same way as sheep. Whether the numbers be credible or not, Shalmaneser had achieved a very considerable victory.

When Shattuara had taken his first steps, it is natural to suppose that he must have called upon the whole northern border from the Ṭur 'Abdin westwards to revolt; the victories of Adad-narari were thereby nullified, and Shalmaneser reports his reconquest of the district from Taidi and Irridi, the Ṭur 'Abdin, to Eluhat, Sudi, Harran up to Carchemish in almost exactly the same words used in his father's inscriptions. There is no sound reason at present for disbelieving his statement. Carchemish is not included in the list of towns within Hattushilish's empire given in his treaty with Rameses, and it may well be that the Assyrians were in possession of the place during most of Shalmaneser's reign. But that was the limit of the western advance; once again an Assyrian king turned back from the Euphrates after securing the bridge-head.

It was not only the strong position of the Hittites in Syria at this time which imposed caution. The position east of Tigris required careful watching. The Quti, the folk whose own land lay south-east of Ḥulwan (Ser-i-pul), undertook a razzia northwards on a considerable scale. The crisis required quick action, for there was no time to call out the militia for a regular campaign. An inquiry of the oracle of Ashur by means of liver inspection encouraged the king to a bold step. With only a third of his total number of chariots he hastened northwards to the Judi-Dagh to meet the raiders over a considerable tract of country stretching thence to the borders of Urarṭu. Taken by surprise, in isolated bands, the Quti were subdued.

At some later date the king must have undertaken

an expedition which brought him to the borders of the homeland of the Quti, for he boasts of victories over the Lullume, the people of Zamua (the district of Ḥulwan), and the Shubari, here presumably the men of the neighbourhood of Kirkūk. By these difficult campaigns the Assyrian interests were more efficiently served than by a rash adventure in Syria. Slowly but effectively Assyrian administration was perfected, and the process of absorbing and incorporating alien populations into a larger whole was first successfully practised in these districts. In considering Assyrian successes in the Zagros hills it is not always remembered that the nature of that territory and of its inhabitants made the task difficult, continuous, and yet inevitable. It was essential to the Assyrian kingdom for two reasons to dominate those regions: firstly, because the best means of keeping the hill-men from plundering in the plain was to attack them in their own lands; secondly, because Assyrian dominance meant the safe conduct of caravans to the great Assyrian cities without unprofitable delay at such important centres as, for instance, Arinni more than once seemed likely to become. That the task was unusually difficult the whole history of Babylonia from the earliest times onwards, not to mention the later and even modern phases of the country concerned, proves. The hill-men can only be kept in subjection by a continuous display of military force; the towns can only be held—and then only precariously—by garrisons isolated the one from the other. The wonder is, not that victories like those of Shalmaneser proved evanescent, but that the rulers of this and certain later periods persisted in the vigorous prosecution of a policy wise and beneficial to their country, but not in itself an attractive task. Most nations have such a problem to deal with; similar dangers are very often the true cause of the welding of diverse elements into a single nation. But Assyrian efforts in the Zagros have hardly received from modern historians that meed of admiration which is their due. No government has proved more, many have been less, successful than theirs.

The prosperity of Shalmaneser's time was marked

by his building activities, as is usual. Beside building a palace and restoring temples at his capital, he built a temple of Ishtar at Nineveh, and it is possible that he is the Shalmaneser who founded the city of Kalaḫ, though that event may possibly belong to the much later time of Shalmaneser II. The attention paid to the northern cities is significant. The centralised administration demanded a more central position than the ancient city of Ashur now provided; it is also possible that the custom of granting certain exemptions from taxation and forced labour to the royal city had become irksome, in view of the very considerable size the city had now attained. In any case Shalmaneser's attention was chiefly directed to the north and the east, and the diversion provided by the south in the reign of his son proved in the end a disaster.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CONQUEST OF BABYLON AND THE FALL OF THE HITTITES

THE diversion of interest to the south in the time of Tukulti-Enurta [3] I, Shalmaneser's heir, not improbably arose owing to Babylonian interference with Assyrian policy in the lands east of Tigris, for Tukulti-Enurta devoted the early years of his reign to a vigorous prosecution of his ancestors' policy there and in the north. In his first year a march southwards and eastwards, which took the Assyrian army through the territories of the Quti and the Uqumani, ended in the land of the *meḫru*-trees,[1] which lay perhaps on the western border of the modern Jibal Province; the districts called Elḫunia and Sharnida paid tribute also, and did not attempt to refuse it for many years. Another expedition marched northwards along the Tigris to the Judi-Dagh, and then carried out a punitive expedition throughout the lands of the Subaraeans, of which an instructive catalogue * is given. These Subaraean lands had of course been within the Assyrian kingdom for some time; they remained then, as they have since continued to be, small and isolated communities, without cohesion, which recognise a central government only when forced to do so. This campaign along the old northern border was followed by an attack on another even more difficult terrain, the mountains west of Lake Wān, known to the Assyrians as the Nairi lands. There forty-three princelings, whose domains can hardly have exceeded the communal limits of their own villages, united to resist the invader, and suffered defeat. This step of Tukulti-Enurta was the first

* The Qurṭi, the lands of Kummuḫ, Bushshi, Mummi, Alzi, Madani, Niḫani, Alaia, Ṭeburzi, Purukuzzi.[2]

attack of the Assyrians during the second half of the second millennium on ground definitely within Asia Minor, and the reason for it is perhaps to be found in the fact that advance westwards had been stayed at Carchemish. The Nairi-lands were rich in metals, and it is probable that the important metal industry which played such an important part in the later history of these districts had already commenced to exercise an influence on Mesopotamian commerce. This first Assyrian attack on these lands is important historically because Assyrian pressure, exercised from now on, intermittently, for many centuries, led to a unification of the petty communities and finally to the formation of a great kingdom.

There is yet another expedition which is assigned by Tukulti-Enurta to his first year, and yet it seems incredible that even the Assyrian militia could have been numerous enough to allow of three such campaigns at the same time. "In my first year of rule," the inscription[3] states, "I carried away 8 sars (28,800) of Hittite soldiery from beyond Euphrates and led them into my land." Assyrian texts are not always trustworthy in the arrangement of the order of campaigns; they seldom, if ever, are untrustworthy in statements of fact. It is hardly to be questioned that this record of a campaign in Syria, when a large number of Hittites were transported and settled within the Assyrian borders, corresponds to a historical fact; but the precise nature of the historical event remains doubtful. Firstly, the term "Hittite" is loosely used by the Assyrians to mean any North Syrian people, as opposed to the people of the Damascus and Lebanon areas, the Amorites. Secondly, the figure given, and the description as "soldiery" (perhaps intended, however, simply for "men of fighting age") raises grave doubts. The third question that arises is, where were they settled? Tukulti-Enurta built himself a new royal abode outside Ashur, Kar-Tukulti-Enurta; and it was the habit of Assyrian kings of later times to settle their captives in the new cities they built. Were Hittites, that is North Syrians, brought to the new city? Some archaeological grounds for believing that craftsmen who had been

trained in cities near the Mediterranean seaboard might be found in the artistic adornment of that city. But the matter remains very obscure, and Tukulti-Enurta's raid across the Euphrates must have been an isolated razzia conducted from Carchemish, for no other records of victories are known as yet. Or does the rather restrained wording of the inscription, which refrains from mentioning any conquest or blood-letting, imply that these "Hittites" were really flying from North Syria to the protection of the Assyrian king?

Some time after Tukulti-Enurta's accession there arose a war between Kashtiliash, the ruling Kassite at Babylon, and the Assyrian. The cause may have been the aggressive Assyrian policy in the east. A battle was fought in which Kashtiliash was captured; and then a step was taken which marks a new stage in Assyrian history. Tukulti-Enurta marched to Babylon, destroyed the fortified walls, and killed many of the citizens. He treated the temple of Esagila with contempt, and took away its treasures as booty; even the god Marduk was carried off to Assyria. The administration of Babylonia was put in the hands of prefects who travelled up and down the country on special missions, and Tukulti-Enurta proceeded to deal with the border-lands of the southern country, in the thorough way his dynasty had always adopted. In the list of places* given in an inscription we can just trace his movements from Mari, Ḫana, and Rapiqu, on the Euphrates, westwards to the plateau, "the mountains of the Aḫlamu," southwards to the Euphrates again to a point near the modern Samāwah, Bit-makki;[4] thence he marched across to the Tigris and gives a long list of the border towns which were sometimes Elamite, sometimes Babylonian, from the Eulaeus river northwards up to Kirkuk and eastwards. The campaign has an exceptional interest,

* The lands of Mari, Ḫana, Rapiqu, and the mountains of the Aḫlamu, the lands Ḫargamush, Muqanash, Bit-makki, Bit-Qulla, Akriash, Sikkuri, Ḫuzush, Turnasuma, Ḫashshiluna, Shāda, Sappani, Turṣinuḫlia, Duri, Uzamia, Ḫar . . ., Shadishshe, Ulaiash, Ulmuia . . ., Ḫussaush, Ezāush, Damnaush, Arinni, Birite, Arraphi, Kurbata, Agalishna, Shadappa, Kamzikla, Kammarash, Elurē, Kammenza, Albadā, Sikabda. Shabila.

because it is the only one known to have been conducted in the desert immediately west of Babylonia by the Assyrians, and because the campaign in the east became the prototype of many such in the days when Assyria was an empire.

Tukulti-Enurta's dominions at this time must have been very considerable, and it would be easy to see in him the creator of a short-lived empire. Indeed modern historians in some cases go further, and consider his conquest and rule of Babylon the achievement of a long-standing Assyrian plan. This view, based upon theories not provable now, consorts but ill in this case, as in others, with the known sequence of events.[5] During the many disputes and wars that had arisen between the two countries, there must have been more than one opportunity for the Assyrians to march to Babylon, and attack the southern country. Those opportunities had not been taken. The Assyrians had invariably been satisfied with keeping a favourable southern boundary; their true aim seems rather to have been the establishment of a hold upon the passes from the Zagros range, so that they, rather than the Babylonians, might profit from the caravan traffic that passed through them. Tukulti-Enurta's sack of Babylon has then every appearance of being due to some accidental cause rather than to a set policy; and his aim while the administrative power was in his hands was to quell the border people, and secure some sort of order in a much misruled country. (See further, pp. 302–303.)

His administration in Babylonia lasted seven years, a period which points to a surprising stability in the Assyrian régime. Tukulti-Enurta called himself king of Sumer and Akkad, and his right to do so is confirmed by the Babylonian Chronicle. But he was not admitted to the king list, which was based on principles we do not yet clearly understand; in that document three kings are given, Enlil-nadin-shum, Kadashman-Ḫarbe II, Adad-shum-iddin, the first two of whom ruled 1½ years each while the last is assigned six years. This total of nine years allotted by the canon to the interval between the death of Kashtiliash and the

PLATE XVI

MASSIVE BRONZE STATUE OF NAPIR-ASU, QUEEN OF ELAM.
After Délég. en Perse, Mém. VIII, pl. xv.

accession of Adad-shum-naṣir is two years too high if the Babylonian Chronicle, our most reliable source, be correct. It is, therefore, probable that Enlil-nadin-shum and Kadashman-Ḫarbe II were partly contemporary and rival claimants to the throne, who never made any successful attempt to win their country's independence. Adad-shum-iddin, on the other hand, who is allowed six years, may have been recognised as a vassal king by Tukulti-Enurta. In any case, this instance should prove that the fact established for the earlier dynasties of the canon, that contemporaries are placed in succession to one another, and their reigns then added to make the total for the dynasties, is true also in the case of the Kassite dynasty. The end of Enlil-nadin-shum and of Adad-shum-iddin was actually due, not to the Assyrians, but to Kidin-Ḫutrutash, king of Elam, who conducted two successive campaigns in Babylonia. On his first raid he sacked the Babylonian fortress, Der, and a temple, and reached Nippur, where he scattered the militia which met him without, apparently, capturing that city. Enlil-nadin-shum seems to have been captured at Der. Much later he again marched into Babylonia and entered Isin. Whether Adad-shum-iddin was killed or taken prisoner, his reign ended then. The move of Kidin-Ḫutrutash may have been due to a desire to support the Kassites in Babylonia; his blows were directed, not at the Assyrians, but at the Babylonians who dared to support any claimant other than a Kassite.

Whether Tukulti-Enurta was ever widely recognised or not in Babylonia, his administration was the commencement of the end for the Kassites. Their nominee for the throne on Kashtiliash's death was opposed by a nominee of Babylonian birth; and when after seven years the nobles of Babylonia rose against the Assyrian, their leader was Adad-shum-naṣir, said indeed to be a son or descendant of Kashtiliash, but the bearer of a Babylonian, not a Kassite, name. The revolt would hardly have been successful but for Babylonian intrigues at the Assyrian court, based on the jealousies of Tukulti-Enurta's sons. One of these, Ashur-naṣir-aplu, at the head of a party of nobles,

revolted, deposed the old king, besieged him in his own palace, presumably at Kar-Tukulti-Enurta, and finally killed him.

The change from the policy of his ancestors which occurred years after his early victories had ended disastrously for the Assyrian king; his death did not complete the disaster for his country. Assyria was now involved in close relations with Babylon, and that relation resulted in continual intrigue and strife at the Assyrian court. It is never easy to give any account of the corrupting influence of a city, more especially in ages long past; in the case of Babylon it is impossible even vaguely to imagine the nature of the corruption. Yet whenever the Assyrian court, from this time onwards, was open to Babylonian influences, palace conspiracies, parricide and the fomentation of civil war followed; the conquered were thus revenged on their conquerors, by the contagious effect of the principal cause of their own political infirmity. On the condition of Babylon at this time we have no information. It was doubtless the most cultured city in a land whence Assyrian civilisation was ultimately derived. The gods of Babylon and Borsippa, Marduk and Nabu, were worshipped in the Assyrian capital. Though Tukulti-Enurta had treated the city with scant respect, Babylon may have enjoyed a special esteem among certain Assyrians for religious reasons. But the influence of Babylonia upon the Assyrian court was pernicious; Tukulti-Enurta's rule in Babylonia was followed by years of civil disorder in Assyria.

It may be that in one Assyrian king-list the name of Tukulti-Enurta's son and murderer, Ashurnaṣirpal, once stood in a line now broken away.[6] Since his name is omitted in another king-list he may never have reigned, but only been acclaimed by a few; perhaps he was killed by Ashur-nadin-apli his brother, who was in turn followed by Ashur-narari IV. This last was no more than a vassal of Adad-shum-naṣir of Babylon, and was not even the unchallenged king, a certain Nabu-daian being reckoned his equal. Babylonian predominance, even suzerainty, is indeed

implied by the letter sent to Ashur-narari and Nabu-daian by Adad-shum-naṣir;[7] but that predominance was not absolute, for had it been, the statue of Marduk would have been returned. Ashur-narari reigned six years; his successor, Enlil-kudur-usur, after five years, fell when doing battle with Adad-shum-naṣir, who was also killed. The death of this king seems to have exhausted the direct line of Ashur-uballiṭ's descendants; the family had been decimated during the internecine warfare since Tukulti-Enurta's time, and it was necessary to turn to one Enurta-apal-ekur, whose claim to the throne was based on distant descent from Eriba-Adad I. Even so, the disasters brought by the Babylonian connection were by no means at an end.

The complete absorption of Assyria in the intrigues of Babylonia till the death of Enlil-kudur-usur lasted some thirty years, and covered roughly the period 1230–1200 B.C. The country was unquestionably reduced by that struggle, but there were other causes which made it impossible for the Assyrian army again to establish the supremacy in arms which had proved so easy on previous occasions. The prosperity of Assyria from the time of Ashur-uballiṭ to that of Tukulti-Enurta had synchronised with the growth and stable rule of the Hittite kings, from Shubbiluliu onwards; the acquisition and control of important trading centres which led to direct intercourse with Asia Minor and Syria had provided the land by the Tigris with the sinews of war. After the death of Ḫattushilish, a new movement began in Asia Minor which finally changed the political geography of the Mediterranean seaboard, and thereby Assyrian prosperity temporarily declined

Already in the time of Amenophis III or IV Lycian pirates had been active, and the Pharaoh found cause to complain to his ally, the king of Alashiya (the identification of which as Cyprus is still doubtful[8]), that men of Alashiya had been concerned in their attacks on the Delta. Later, in the time of Murshilish, another element appeared in Asia Minor, for the Hittite king was at first allied and subsequently at war with

a king of Aḫḫiawa.[9] Some competent scholars have identified Aḫḫiawa as Achaea; whether the identification be correct or not, this new power, which in the second half of the fourteenth century was separated from the territory of the Hittites by the land called Millawanda, was in the middle of the thirteenth century pursuing a course of conquest eastwards along the coast. Dudḫaliash IV, the successor of Murshilish, in a treaty with the contemporary king of Amurru,[10] mentions the king of Aḫḫiawa in the clause dealing with offence and defence against powers that might perhaps prove inimical, together with Egypt, Assyria and Babylonia; the reason possibly being that Attarissiyash of the city Aḫḫiaya was engaged in attacking the Hittite territories of Zippasla and Arzawa. The process of this movement, partially revealed by the activities of the kings of Aḫḫiawa, is also to be seen in Egypt. There the last years of Rameses II or the first year of his successor Meneptah had been an occasion for revolt in Palestine, in part due to the activities of Israel, and Meneptah was proud of his achievement in recovering the southern plain, the Shephelah. Then he was called to the east of the Delta, in his fifth year, to repel an invasion of the Libyans, who were assisted by Achaeans, Lycians and other Mediterranean peoples. There was, then, a general move eastwards by land and sea in the Mediterranean basin, which especially threatened the Hittites and Egypt, at some time between 1250 and 1230. That the need for some sort of mutual help between the two stable powers was actually felt, is perhaps shown by Meneptah's sending a consignment of corn to Asia Minor early in his reign to assist the Hittites through a period of famine.

Dudḫaliash was able to withstand the pressure. Throughout his reign there was no slackening of the Hittite hold upon Syria, and his jealous watchfulness of Assyrian movements is illustrated by a clause in the treaty with the king of Amurru. It is therein provided that the men who financed the caravan traffic shall not have liberty of movement between Amurru and Assyrian territory; the object was, clearly, to hamper and even boycott Assyrian commerce. But acts of

war were avoided, and the Assyrian king was in correspondence with the Hittite.[10] Dudḫaliash's successor, Arnuandaš, was even able to regain possession of Carchemish from one of Tukulti-Enurta's successors. And then suddenly, some time between 1220 and 1200, the Hittites collapsed before a folk wandering which had only gathered force by being repelled at first. The details of the change are unknown. The only record is the account given by Rameses III: "The Isles were restless, disturbed among themselves at one and the same time. No land stood before them, beginning from the Hittites, Qode (the Gulf of Issus), Carchemish, Arvad and Alashiya. They destroyed [them and assembled in their] camp in one place, in the midst of Amurru. They made its people and its land desolate, like that which is not. They came with fire prepared before them, forward towards Egypt. Their main strength was [composed of] the Philistines, Zakarai, Shakalsha, Daanau and Washasha." The movement by land and sea was now conducted simultaneously. Rameses was able to inflict a great naval defeat which prevented the foreigners entering Egypt. But Syria and Palestine were still in their hands after the defeat, and the state of confusion that must have ruled in those lands for over a century forbids the hope that we shall ever recover records of the period: even its results are not evident until an Assyrian king once again recorded his victories in territory where no Mesopotamian soldiers had been seen since the fall of the Hittite Empire.

The general disturbance in Asia Minor must have had one effect which chiefly concerns us here; the orderly conduct of the metal trade was impossible until events had to some extent led to a new settlement. Assyria was thereby deprived of a main source of supply not easy to replace, and it is probably for that reason, and not from any inherent weakening of the national military organisation, that the Assyrian armies were no longer able easily to assert their supremacy over their immediate neighbours. Recovery, by the nature of the case, was slow, and achieved with difficulty.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE EARLY IRON AGE

TABLE 7.—COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA FROM ABOUT 1200–900.

ASSYRIA.		BABYLONIA.	
		Kassites (ctd.).	
1205–1201	Enlil-kudur-uṣur.	Adad-shum-naṣir	1230–1201
1200–1188	Enurta-apal-ekur I.	Meli-Shipak II, s.	1200–1186
1187–1150	Ashur-dan I.	Merodachbaladan I, s.	1185–1172
		Ilbaba-shum-iddin	1172
		Enlil-nadin-aḫḫe	1171–1169
		2nd Dynasty of Isin.	
		Marduk-shapik-zeri	1168
	Enurta-tukulti-Ashur.	Enurta-nadin-shum.	
	Mutakkil-Nusku, s. of Ashur-dan I.	Nebuchadrezzar I, s.	1150–1110
–1099	Ashur-resh-ishi, I, s.	Enlil-nadin-apli, s.	1110–1080
1098–1068	Tiglathpileser I, s.	Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe	1080–1065
1067–	Enurta-apal-ekur II.	Itti-Marduk-balaṭu, s.	1065–1064
	Ashur-bel-kala, s. of T.-p. I.	Marduk-shapik-zer-mati, s.	1064–1063
		Adad-apal-iddin	1062–1041
	Eriba-Adad II.		
–1048	Shamshi-Adad IV, s. of T.-p. I.		
1047–1027	Ashurnaṣirpal I, s.	Marduk-aḫḫe-eriba	1040
		Marduk-zer-....	1039–1028
1026–1015	Shalmaneser II, s.	Nabu-shum-libur	1027–1020
		2nd Dynasty of Sea-land.	
1014–1009	Ashur-nirari V.	Simmash-Shipak	1019–1002
1008–	Ashur-rabi II.	Ea-mukin-zer	1002
		Kashshu-nadin-aḫḫe	1001–999
		Dynasty of Bazi.	
		Eulmash-shakin-shum	998–982
		Enurta-kudur-uṣur	981–979
		Shiriqtum-Shuqamuna	979

TABLE 7—*continued.*

ASSYRIA.	BABYLONIA.	
	Elamite.	
	Marbiti-apal-uṣur	978–973
	Eighth Dynasty.	
–964 Ashur-resh-ishi II, s.	Nabu-mukin-apli	972–937
963–933 Tiglathpileser II, s.		
	Enurta-kudur-uṣur	
	Marbiti-aḫ-iddin	
932–912 Ashur-dan II, s.	Shamash-mudammiq	~~c. 900~~ 930
911–899 Adad-nirari II.		

AT the beginning of the thirteenth century before Christ iron and the working of iron, though known to man for many centuries, was still uncommon. Hattushilish, when writing in reply to a request from Rameses II for pure iron, found it necessary to inform his Egyptian brother that he had no pure iron in the royal stores in Qizzuwadna (Western Cilicia), and that it was impossible to prepare any previously; he had now given orders for the preparation of pure iron, and would send it when ready, but meanwhile sent an iron dagger. The passage proves that the manufacture of iron weapons was still rare, that the Egyptians had not easy access to supplies of smelted iron, and that smelting and manufacture were centred, so far as the Hittites were concerned, in Cilicia, which had from the middle of the third millennium been engaged in the copper, lead, gold and silver trade. By the beginning of the twelfth century iron weapons had come into general, though not universal, use. It is not impossible that the folk movement of the peoples of the sea is connected with the changes introduced by the more prevalent use of iron. Conditions were not radically altered: they became only slightly harder for those who had neither access to, nor the means to obtain, iron; fighting must have been a more dangerous profession, and therefore a more elaborate personal armament was devised. The Assyrians had to learn and adopt the new methods,

as they had previously learnt the lessons of horse-mastership and organisation.

Enurta-apal-ekur I, called to the throne by the untimely death of Enlil-kudur-uṣur, was regarded by his successors as the founder of a new dynasty; they did not care to trace their genealogy beyond him. To him had fallen the difficult duty of conducting the Assyrian retreat from the battlefield where the previous king lay; he returned to Ashur, and was pursued by the Babylonians, whom he was apparently able to drive back from the environs of the city. The reign of Enurta-apal-ekur is described in glowing terms by his descendant, Tiglathpileser I, but it may be that Assyria was at this time reduced to its old narrow boundaries and consisted of no more than the home provinces. The kingdom needed once again to be built up, and the process had to begin in the lands east of Tigris. Enurta-apal-ekur's son and successor, Ashur-dan I, either recommenced, or continued, an active policy there, and in the short reign of Ilbaba-shum-iddin[1] of Babylon, which only lasted a year, the Assyrians invaded the lands south of the Lower Zab, once their own but now Babylonian provinces, and gained a partial victory which led to small accession of territory. Whether Ashur-dan continued his campaigns in this quarter is not known from the texts, but the eulogy of him by Tiglathpileser I, and the fact that he lived to an advanced age points to a prosperous reign. Since his successor, Enurta-tukulti-Ashur, is passed over in the genealogies of later kings, it is probable that family dissensions or civil strife broke out on Ashur-dan's death.

This probability is enhanced by the events of Enurta-tukulti-Ashur's reign. When he came to the throne, Enurta-nadin-shum, the second king of the second Isin dynasty, was reigning in Babylon. The Kassite dynasty according to the Babylonian canon had ended with Enlil-nadin-aḫḫe; but the last kings of that dynasty were not all Kassites, and the advent of a new reigning family of native origin from a city other than Babylon denoted rather a revolt from the corrupt group of ruling nobles at Babylon than a general rise

against the Kassite yoke. From this time forth the Kassites were never again able to place one of their own number on the throne; but they remained the chief element in the Babylonian army until the ninth century,[2] and the foreign stock remained in Babylonia. There was no expulsion of this people to their mountain districts; the period of over five hundred years which had elapsed since first a Kassite sat upon the throne had given them too firm root in Akkad. But the Isin dynasty did, in the words of the greatest king of the dynasty, "smite" the Kassites, and doubtless the Babylonian nobles also, and for a time it infused energy into Babylonian administration. In the time of Enurta-nadin-shum, the Assyrian Enurta-tukulti-Ashur was compelled to take refuge at Babylon, and was only restored by the aid of the Babylonian king. The proof of his subservience to Babylon was afforded by the return of the statue of the god Marduk from Ashur, where it had been since the days of Tukulti-Enurta. Enurta-nadin-shum was succeeded by Nebuchadrezzar, the only considerable personality in Babylonia known to us during the last centuries of the second millennium, and he again was called upon to protect Enurta-tukulti-Ashur, who seems to have resided in Babylonia during his reign for a considerable time. A certain Ashur-shum-lishir played a part in these events, but the letter from Nebuchadrezzar in which he is mentioned is badly broken, and largely unintelligible.[3] One interesting fact is, however, clear; some friend of a man with a Kassite name, who is termed a Ḫabiru, felt himself able to remonstrate with the Babylonian king on the subject of his treatment, and sought to interfere in the affairs of Babylonia and Assyria, only to receive a tart reply. The incident perhaps represents the attempt of a desert sheikh to play an important part in local politics; such may often have been the first steps which preceded the intrusion of a tribe.

A partial cause of the weakness of Assyria during these years may have been the activity of the king of Elam, Shilḫak-in-Shushinak,[3] who must have conquered the peoples on his northern borders. His

campaigns are unknown, save in one instance; he appears to have crossed the Euphrates and marched into Babylonia. This recrudescence of Elamite activity must have meant the loss of territory and of trade to Assyria. But Shilḫak-in-Shushinak died, and his son Ḫuteludush,[3] when he faced Nebuchadrezzar in battle in Namar, a district on the east bank of the Tigris perhaps not far south of Sāmarrā, was defeated, and the Elamite activities seem to have ceased for a time.

Nebuchadrezzar's suzerainty over Ashur lasted throughout the time not only of Enurta-tukulti-Ashur, but also of Mutakkil-Nusku, who was a direct descendant of Ashur-dan I. But Mutakkil-Nusku's son, Ashur-resh-ishi I, had little difficulty in restoring the prestige of Assyrian arms. This king called himself "the avenger of Assyria," with particular reference to his victories over the Aḫlamu, the Lullume, and the Quti. It would be interesting to know on which front he found it necessary to fight the Aḫlamu, whether north-west or south-west; but there is no information to throw light on the movements of the Aramaeans at this time. It was probably after his activities east of Tigris that Ashur-resh-ishi was compelled to face Nebuchadrezzar in battle. The Babylonian army marched against and besieged an Assyrian frontier fortress called Zanqi, but on hearing that the Assyrian king was executing a forced march with his chariotry to relieve the place, Nebuchadrezzar set his siege machines on fire and retreated. The next Babylonian invasion was differently conceived; a force of chariotry and infantry was despatched to capture the same fortress, but Ashur-resh-ishi again sent a column to engage the enemy. This time the Babylonians stood their ground; the Assyrians gained a complete victory, capturing the Babylonian general and the baggage lines. Not long after this Nebuchadrezzar died, and with him disappeared the menace to Assyria from the south.

Before Ashur-resh-ishi died the eleventh century was over, and the tenth well begun. The new military equipment, baggage trains, siege engines and the

other innovations of the iron age, had been added to the Assyrian army, and the strong forts which the new devices required were built on all the frontiers. One of Ashur-resh-ishi's last tasks must have been the construction of a fort at Apku meant to overawe the people of the land called Ḫanigalbat. The place was obviously intended by him to be the rallying point for western expeditions, and was doubtless so used by his son and successor. Exactly the same fortress was chosen over a hundred years later for a similar purpose by Adad-nirari II. Whether it was possible to build such fortresses in the south-west, across the Euphrates, to control the districts of Ḫana and Mari, may be doubted; the prolonged movement out of the desert was growing in impetus as time passed, and for that reason the western bank of the Euphrates from Suḫi westwards to Carchemish was completely in the hands of the Aḫlamu. But the Aḫlamu were no longer desert nomads. The northern Syrian desert was thickly populated at this time, and townships which served as trade centres for the caravans continually conducted across their territory by the Aḫlamu flourished throughout the eleventh century. The situation was for the moment not dangerous to Assyria, and did not require immediate armed measures.

This was not the case with the northern frontier. There obscure movements in Asia Minor had finally led to a position in a hill country stretching from the eastern bank of the Upper Euphrates to the east of Lake Wān which was a continual menace to Assyria. The native stock, of Subaraean race, retained their natural turbulence under their native princes, but there was now in these mountains a considerable element of the old Hittite soldiery from central Asia Minor, driven east by the pressure of western peoples which had now been exerted for over a century. Towards the last quarter of the eleventh century yet another people exerted their military strength to obtain some kind of suzerainty over these regions east of the Euphrates, the Mushki, the "terror" that was still well remembered in the days of Ezekiel. For fifty years this people, whose main settlement lay north of

the Cilician Gates,[4] ruled in some sort the peoples of the Taurus and anti-Taurus as far as Lake Wān. Of the nature of the Mushki empire we have no information, and speculations concerning it are at present baseless. That it long remained a memory in the ancient east is proved by the Biblical references to Meshech, and the later history of the people may be guessed from the Greek accounts of the Moschi; that the Mushki were largely the cause of Assyrian powerlessness during this period is a reasonable inference. The effect of such an empire in closing the routes to the most prolific sources of the metal trade could only be disastrous. The chief attention of resurgent Assyria had necessarily to be turned to the north.

Tiglathpileser I, Ashur-resh-ishi's son, immediately on his accession, had to face an invasion of Assyrian territory by the Mushki from the lands of Alzi and Purukuzzi which they had now held so long. The object of the invasion was to seize the territory of Kummuḫ, and presumably the first attempt was to be made on the western part of that province; the invading army numbered twenty thousand and was led by five petty princes. Tiglathpileser marched to the Ṭur 'Abdin, fought the invaders there, then turned back to Kummuḫ and led a campaign which passed from the western to the eastern bank of the Tigris. The Subaraeans offered resistance at the city of Sherishe, which the Assyrians captured. The Qurṭi came to assist their northern neighbours, under their king, who bore two names, one apparently Subaraean, Kili-Teshub, the other perhaps his native name, possibly a nickname, Irrupi. Tiglathpileser swept them away, capturing the king, and marched farther east, where the fortress Urraṭinash was surrendered by its king Shadi-Teshub; his expedition finished only when he had plundered the land of Mildish, which did not lie in Kummuḫ, but was on the eastern border.

This preliminary campaign yielded an astonishing amount of booty when the nature of the country covered is considered; above all the Assyrians carried away metal goods. The city of Urraṭinash can have

PLATE XVII

THE BROKEN OBELISK, INSCRIBED WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEEDS OF ADADNIRARI II. On one face is an account of a previous king, probably Tiglathpileser I, and on this face is a bas-relief showing the king holding the symbols of authority approached by suppliants, perhaps intended for foreign princes and their attendants. Above, the symbols of Shamash, Ishtar, Sin and two other gods. From Nimrud. B.M. No. 118,898. See p. 333.

been only a little township which had achieved independence owing to its position in the mountains; its conquerors received as tribute sixty vessels of bronze, bowls of copper and great cauldrons of copper, besides one hundred and twenty slaves, and cattle. That represents an astonishing prosperity, and it explains the zest with which the young Assyrian king set himself to conquer the peoples of the north. His vigorous attack upon the Mushki had loosened the hold of that people on the lands east of the Euphrates, and Tiglathpileser was free to conduct a series of campaigns over all the mountain territories from the Euphrates to Lake Urmiyah.

The dissolution of the power of the Mushki was very clearly shown in the next year, when Alzi and Purukuzzi were laid under tribute, perhaps for the first time since Tukulti-Enurta's fall. While in these lands the Assyrians met a rebel army of Kaski and Urumaya; the Kaski were the Gasga who had so continuously troubled the realm of Shubbiluliu's successors, the Urumaya were a new element, unless they be men of the land of Ḫurma not infrequently mentioned in earlier records. They could offer little resistance to the Assyrians, who then once again turned eastwards to Kummuḫ, where a punitive campaign was conducted in the more inaccessible districts. In the next year one force marched up the valley of the Euphrates, through the land of Ḫaria, which may have been the original home of the Ḫurri, now never mentioned, as far as Isua, previously called Ishuwa. But another, led perhaps by the king in person, went eastwards, crossed the Lower Zab, and engaged the eastern Qurṭi[5] in their highlands. This effort, intended to terrify a people who could never be satisfactorily subdued, secured the eastern provinces, and Tiglathpileser was now enabled to undertake a bold enterprise. Marching straight across the great mountain ranges to the valley of the Upper Euphrates, which he crossed by a bridge specially constructed, he fought and defeated twenty-three kings of the "Nairi" lands, and "pursued" yet another confederation of sixty kings. The details of this campaign are

very obscure since it is impossible to locate the districts named; and the claim to have reached the "Upper Sea" is of doubtful meaning. It may be that having crossed the Upper Euphrates to attack one confederation, Tiglathpileser recrossed it and then marched eastwards to Lake Wān, but this explanation is unlikely since the last event in the campaign was the capture of Milid (Malatia), west of the river; yet it is hardly possible to believe that the sea intended in this case is the Mediterranean. Perhaps the best explanation is that Tiglathpileser divided his army into various columns, that one fought east, the other west of the Euphrates, and that the short account of the campaign in the Annals gives a confused account of the achievements of these different columns. A passing light is thrown upon the condition of affairs in Asia Minor by these campaigns. It is only an occasional name of a people or land that is known to us from earlier or later documents; for the most part the nomenclature is entirely different from that of the thirteenth–twelfth centuries, and also from that of the ninth–seventh centuries. That shift of populations which had brought the Hittite Empire low was still continuing during, and continued for many years after, Tiglathpileser's reign.

After carrying the Assyrian arms farther into Asia Minor than any of his predecessors had done, Tiglathpileser next turned to the task of restoring Assyrian dominion in the east to the borders it had claimed in the time of Tukulti-Enurta. That, at least, was the course of events if Muṣri and Qumani lay, as is the more probable view, in the Median plateau. The first conflict with the Qumani, during the siege of Arini, which lay in Muṣri, was followed by a great battle, after which the Qumani were pursued past the hill frontiers and fortresses of their land to the capital, Kibshuna, which their king surrendered without a blow, undertaking to destroy its fortifications. Moreover, three hundred families of rebels who had fled from Assyrian territory to this apparently safe retreat, were handed over to the conqueror; there was to be no asylum safe from the vengeance of Ashur.

At this point Tiglathpileser was able to boast that he had conquered forty-two lands and their kings, over a territory that extended in a broad line from the Lower Zab to the Euphrates, and thence in a more tenuous line along the northern hills to the Mediterranean, and that this number did not include campaigns against enemies who offered no resistance. When there is added to this record an account of the king's achievements in the hunting field, against beasts who were still wild and dangerous in the wasted regions of the Ḫabur, all accomplished within the short space of six years, an adequate view of the immense effort of Assyria under the leadership of this vigorous king may be formed. But vigour is not always consonant with wisdom, and valour does not always wait upon the caution of the prudent. The rapid acquisition of great territories, though it brought doubtless great booty to the Assyrian capital, led to a dispersion of the military resources of the kingdom which would not have been countenanced by Ashur-uballiṭ and his immediate successors. It would have been better for Assyria if Tiglathpileser had now devoted himself to the task of building up the state into a stable whole; but he was led on to constant campaigning in regions where his army must have suffered very considerably. In his later inscriptions he was able to tell of expeditions to the Lebanon, and he crossed the Euphrates at least twenty-eight times. Not all of these expeditions were directed towards Syria; some were devoted to that area of the Syrian desert which is contained by the great southerly sweep of the Euphrates; and the king claims to have defeated the Aḫlamu along a line stretching from Tadmar (Palmyra) and 'Anah to the town of Rapiqu, the frontier of Babylonia within its now restricted limits. In Syria he was paid tribute by the Phoenician cities Byblos, Sidon, Arvad, and was ferried across from Arvad to Simyra, there to kill a dolphin and to receive a crocodile and another animal as a present from the king of Egypt; but before the rich lands of the Mediterranean were reached, there had been fierce fighting along the Euphrates, the Aramaean resistance

centring about six townships at the foot of Mt. Beshri.

It is impossible to restore the exact order of these campaigns; an approximate order only can be derived from inscriptions not based on the annalistic method. Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe, the king of Babylon, was able early in his reign[6] to carry away from Assyria the statues of Adad and Shala, and must therefore have inflicted a defeat on the Assyrian garrison of Ekallati on the border. The reply to this was a campaign later by some years. As part of the attempt to extend the Assyrian dominion down the Euphrates, Tiglathpileser attacked Babylonia, as usual from the eastern bank of the Tigris. After taking Marriti, sometimes called Marri or Parak Mari,[6] the Assyrians crossed the river and took ⌊Dur-Kurigalzu, ⌊Sippar of Shamash (Abu Ḥabbah), ⌊Sippar of Anunitum, and ⌊Babylon itself, while ⌊Opis fell to another column; the sieges entailed required two campaigns, during which the efforts of the Babylonian king Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe to win a battle in the open field continuously failed, from the Lower Zab into Babylonian territory. How far south the Assyrian army may have marched does not appear; Tiglathpileser only claimed that his borders included Akarsallu (presumably Kar-Ishtar Akarsallu) and Rapiqu. There is no proof that the view of some modern historians, that Tiglathpileser's realm for a time included the whole of Babylonia, is correct; it is even improbable that he attempted to conquer the country, in view of his other commitments. Indeed, the fact that the statues of the Assyrian gods were not returned seems to show that they were removed to the south of Babylonia, which was not attacked by Tiglathpileser.

A not inconsiderable error in modern views of ancient history has arisen through such mistaken assumptions. Assyrian history has been interpreted as a continual preparation for temporary success in, and final failure to hold, conquests in Babylonia; and with this interpretation have been linked some curious notions about the ancient Oriental conception of world rule and so forth. There is nothing in the

facts of Assyrian history to favour this interpretation ; the collisions between the two countries were no more than might be expected from two such neighbours. Individual Assyrian kings seized opportunities to make themselves kings of Babylonia ; others as well placed to hold the title deliberately avoided doing so. There were two main objects which may be observed as directing all Assyrian policy with regard to Babylonia. First there was the ceaseless preoccupation of trade, the desire to hold those cities in the southern valley of the Tigris whither the trade routes from the east and south-east led. Secondly, the northern power aimed persistently at controlling the river valleys to points whence the lower reaches of the rivers could be regulated, thereby to prevent developments in the south unfavourable to their own interest. Success in these two objects implied the necessity of attacking any successful Babylonian king, because he was dangerous, and of subduing any too great disorder because it was inconvenient. There is no need to have recourse to elaborate reconstructions of the ancient Oriental views of world hegemony to explain a phenomenon which recurs in the history of all lands at all times. Doubtless the Assyrians did look upon Babylon with some reverence ; their culture, based as was that of the south upon the civilisation of the Sumerians, was continually and greatly influenced by that city. But sentiment did not dictate policy, and admiration or imitation in intellectual matters is consonant with extreme indifference in practical affairs. The relations of Assyria to Babylon were, *mutatis mutandis*, much like those of Rome to Athens.

In Tiglathpileser's time Assyria for the first time since the reign of the great Shamshi-Adad had complete control of the principal caravan routes of Western Asia. From the Ṭur 'Abdin down to Opis, all the commercial centres were in Assyrian hands. The Euphrates valley from Babylon to Carchemish, and the best route across the desert, via Palmyra, had fallen to the conqueror ; Syria and the great Phoenician cities were accessible to the merchant without toll and without risk. The mineral wealth of Asia Minor could

be brought to Ashur in safety across the Upper Euphrates. The time might well seem a golden age to those who followed; and the personal exploits of the king led his successors to perpetuate his memory. But disaster followed upon this sudden expansion in every direction. Whether there was a defeat which coincided with the death of Tiglathpileser is not yet known; it is probable that a succession of reverses led to the outbreak of civil strife, reflected in the disorder shown in the succession. The real cause of the downfall of Assyrian power so soon after its assertion lay not in Babylonia, but in the desert.

CHAPTER XIX

THE ARAMAEAN INVASION

THE course of the Aramaean invasion of the Euphrates valley and the lands north and north-east of the valley has been briefly followed, and the attempts to make a way across to the Tigris and the plain below the Zagros hills briefly mentioned in the previous chapters. The movement started shortly after the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt; it had, therefore, played a part in the history of Western Asia for about six centuries before Tiglathpileser's time, and during the course of those centuries the Aḫlamu and Sutu had changed their character, by very slow degrees, almost imperceptibly. Yet the constant connection with commerce entailed by their safeguarding or plundering of caravans, their connection with towns in the settled areas of Mesopotamia and Syria, the service of a certain number of individuals in garrisons, had not failed to have their effect. The nomad tribesman remained a tribesman, but only partly the nomad who will have nothing to do with towns: he had reached the stage of desiring to use towns for his own advantage. Roughly divided into stages, these six centuries of Aramaean history may be thus summarised. (1) The first advance, northwards across the Euphrates, westwards into Syria. Sixteenth–thirteenth centuries. (2) The effort to break through to the Tigris, either north or south of Assyria. Thirteenth century. (3) The restriction of the Aḫlamu and Sutu within the Syrian desert, owing to the drift southwards from Asia Minor. Twelfth century. (4) Considerable development of commerce at important centres such as Tadmar (Palmyra) in the northern desert; tendency

of the now immense tribes and confederations to split into smaller bodies. Early eleventh century.

Tiglathpileser's successful campaigns in the desert were not undertaken from lust of conquest, nor was the object solely, perhaps, to acquire control of the caravan routes. The policy may have been dictated by the increasing symptoms of approaching disorder. There was a new drive north-westwards in Syria, and Tiglathpileser's offensive action against Palmyra may have been conceived as a defence of the riverine terrain. The original cause of the Aramaean movement is probably to be found, as has previously been pointed out, in the disturbance caused in the central oases of Arabia by the exodus of the Hyksos from Egypt. The cause of renewed disturbance in the early eleventh century can only be guessed; judging from the conditions that obtained in the north Syrian desert in the eighth–seventh centuries B.C., the movement may have been started by pressure from the south, by the Aribi (Plate XIV, *b*), particularly wild and uncivilised nomads who gained total possession of the desert lands which had once belonged to the Aramaeans. Some ground for closely associating the Aramaean movement eastwards with the Aribi movement northwards in the desert may be found in the curious fact that a small body of Aribi inhabited a territory east of Tigris [1] at the end of the eighth century B.C., and were neighbours of Aramäean tribes there. The only possible period for this tribe to have wandered eastward is that of the Aramaean wanderings: it looks as if a small tribe of the southern people had joined the exiles from the northern desert. That the Aribi moved northwards from Southern Arabia is almost certain from the fact that they were the first to bring the camel into the North Syrian Desert. From whatever cause, the Aramaean people, long a recognised, but previously hardly a formidable danger to the kingdoms of Western Asia, became an irresistible, overwhelming force which threatened for a time wholly to overrun, and finally succeeded in occupying to a great extent, lands west, north, and far east of their original domains.

The troubles still unknown to us which brought

Assyria low during the reigns of Tiglathpileser's successors arose from the Aramaean invasions. But of the history of the land till the end of the tenth century we are ignorant. Of the kings Enurta-apal-ekur II, Ashur-bel-kala, Eriba-Adad II and Shamshi-Adad IV, the second and fourth were sons of Tiglathpileser; the origin and method of accession of the other two remain mysterious. These reigns, with those of Shamsi-Adad's legitimate successors, Ashur-nasirpal I and Shalmaneser II, cover the remainder of the eleventh and the opening years of the tenth century. The slight information to be gained from Babylonian sources for this period reveals some part of the story. Marduk-shapik-zer-mati,[2] the king of Babylon contemporary with Ashur-bel-kala, was engaged in a war with a great confederation of princelings, and concluded a peace with the Assyrians. Apparently the Babylonian was the suppliant for alliance, since he went to Ashur to obtain it. When he returned, he marched into Babylonia, but not into Babylon. His progress was stayed at Sippar; it is reasonable to suppose that the one who kept him out of Babylon was the usurper who succeeded him, an Aramaean named Adad-apal-iddinam. The course of events may have been, to judge from this outline, that Marduk-shapik-zer-mati, faced by a considerable army, led by a confederation of Aramaean tribal chiefs, applied to Assyria in person for help. He concluded an alliance, but during his absence a party of Aramaeans must have flung themselves into Babylon. His return without an Assyrian army led to defeat and death. The Assyrian, intent upon securing his own, now much confined, dominion, was content to make a new alliance, cemented by marriage, with Adad-apal-iddinam. The tolerance thus accorded to an usurping Aramaean by the Assyrians cannot be an isolated case; in towns and districts in the Tigris valley and in Mesopotamia the same course of events is to be presumed. The result in the lands concerned is easily imagined. The tribesmen who came into rich towns with their leader pillaged and then retired, save for those few who were willing to stay with their leader at the cost of sacrificing their

nomadic life. There is the express testimony of a Babylonian chronicle to such incidents in the reign of Adad-apal-iddinam: "the Sutu made an attack and carried away to their own land the spoil of Sumer and Akkad." The attack must have been closely connected with the establishment of Adad-apal-iddinam as king in Babylonia.

It is conceivable that the mysterious king named Tukulti-Mer belongs to this period. During Rassam's excavations on the site of Sippar a curious green stone object was found, of unknown use; the inscription[3] on it, a dedication to the god Shamash by Tukulti-Mer, king of Ḫana, son of Ilu-iqisha, king of Ḫana, appears to be of late date, and cannot be earlier than the thirteenth century B.C. (Plate XVIII, *a*). The excavations at Ashur have produced a very much broken text which recorded campaigns of a Tukulti-Mer king of Assyria. No king of this name is entered in the Assyrian king-lists. The suggestion has been made that Tukulti-Mer is to be identified with Tukulti-Enurta II, but there is nothing to render that identification likely, and it is more reasonable to suppose that the Tukulti-Mer who was king of Ḫana later became Tukulti-Mer, king of Assyria. In that case it is inconceivable that Tukulti-Mer can be Tukulti-Enurta II, for the latter was king of Assyria by natural succession, and would never have dedicated an object in Babylonia as king of Ḫana without mentioning Assyria. It is conceivable then that Tukulti-Mer, a prince of Ḫana sufficiently powerful to make his gifts acceptable to Shamash of Sippar, secured sufficient authority in Assyria to call himself king of Assyria, and indulge in the usual campaigns against the Qurṭi. This is no more than a speculative reconstruction of history; and if it in any way approaches the truth, Tukulti-Mer must have been active during the time of the Aramaean invasion.

The ephemeral successes of individual Aramaean princelings have little importance; Adad-apal-iddinam quickly passed away. But the tribes swept on, and in this and the succeeding decades they established themselves in Northern Babylonia and in the most

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PLATE XVIII

a. Stone truncheon (?) for attachment to a belt, bearing an inscription of Tukulti-Mer, King of Hana, son of Ilu-iqisha, King of Hana, dedicated to Shamash, the god of Sippar, for the prosperity of his land and the preservation of his life. Length 27 cm. From Abu Habbah. B.M. No. 93,077. See p. 308.

b. Stone bird, bored for attachment to a pole, probably used as a war-standard, the symbol of the god Enurta. Provenance unknown. Height about 10 cm. B.M. No. 91,968. See p. 320.

fruitful parts of the Tigris valley south of Assyria. Unable by their nature to combine, not interested, save for the ambitions of individuals, in civic life, they were the exact counterpart of the modern tribes of Iraq. Babylonian religion, Babylonian personal

No. 6.—Aramaean and Chaldaean Tribes in Babylonia from 900 B.C. The Aramaean tribes stretched along the Tigris. The Gurumu, Ubulu, Damunu, Gambulu, Hindaru, Ru'ua and Puqudu are said to have dwelt "on the bank of the river Uknu," but this need only mean that their grazing rights extended along that river. The Chaldaean tribes are underlined.

names, Babylonian manners and social customs were quickly assimilated and adapted; the old peasant population in the tribal areas was perforce included in the tribe, as it has been in recent times. The dissensions of the tribes were little more than feuds

between sheikhly families; the spears that the individual sheikh could put into the field did not represent any longer a tribal force united by ties of blood and tradition, as in the desert, but a heterogeneous body of men willing only to follow when success was probable. The Aramaeans of Babylonia never became a great military and political force; their intrusion into Babylonia arose from weakness in the desert; their temporary and partial successes were due to the inadequacy of Babylonian government at the time, and to the decisive factor of superior man-power.

The condition of Babylonia throughout this period must have been pitiable. The evidence at hand is small, but sufficient to reveal the condition of affairs. Nearly one hundred years after an Aramaean king had been placed on the throne of Babylon for the first time, the Aramaeans in Northern Babylonia and in the eastern valley of the Tigris were able to make war on Nabu-mukin-apli,[4] the first king of the Eighth Dynasty, and to prevent access to and from Babylon, so that the king did not dare to cross the river from Borsippa, and the New Year Festival could not be held. At the very end of the ninth century they were still active in appropriating land and property; in the time of Eriba-Marduk, about 800 B.C., Aramaeans from Shigiltu, an unknown district, and Subartu, here presumably the Tigris valley just below Sāmarrā, where the Utu'ate were, seized the fields of some inhabitants of Babylon and Borsippa, and were only deprived of them after a punitive expedition. Such a time is apt to be a reign of terror far worse than vassaldom to a foreign power, if the rule of that power be orderly, however harsh. And Babylonia suffered at this time not only from the Aramaean invasion; the Euphrates valley and the Sea-Land fell into the hands of the Chaldaean tribes, who also moved in from the west about this time. The origin of the Chaldaeans and their immediate connection with the Aramaeans have not yet been explained; when they first appear in history, they are already completely Babylonian in religion, language and culture. But the method of their invasion was clearly that of the Aramaeans;

a settlement in the open plains and marshes was accompanied by only a sporadic inhabitation of the great towns.

The invasion of Syria and the lands immediately west of Assyria was rather different in character. New states under Aramaean leadership sprang up, but these had to a considerable extent the old organisation introduced into these lands by other peoples. But the Aramaic language, and distinctive features of Aramaean religion were introduced into these areas ;

No. 7.—The Principal Aramaean Kingdoms of Mesopotamia and Syria after 900 B.C.

from the valley of the Ḫabur to the Mediterranean was for the most part Aramaean, North Syria entirely so, in a manner different from Babylonia and the Tigris valley. The nature of the difference can best be seen in the remains of the material civilisation discovered at Carchemish, Sinjirli, Sakjegeuzi and elsewhere, that may be assigned to the eleventh and tenth centuries.[5] Obviously there is a close connection between the art there displayed (Plate XIX) and the earlier Hittite art of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries ; but there are distinctive features, and these

illustrate the development under Aramaean influence. But from Babylonia there are no remains which can be described as distinctively Aramaean. In short, there appears an illuminating contrast between north-west and south-east. In the north-west the Aramaeans retained their language and customs, but adopted and used to advantage the political organisation they found, to which they had grown accustomed during many centuries. In the south-east, they lost much that was distinctive in language and customs, but retained a tribal system and remained indifferent to the organisations of the city-states which were still the bases of the Babylonian state.

Assyria was saved from the fate of Babylonia and also from that of Syria by its military organisation. Of the course of the struggle we know nothing; that it was severe, and led to the loss of all the provinces north, west and south of the land of Assyria proper is clear from the wars of Ashur-dan II,[3a] Adad-nirari II, and Tukulti-Enurta II in the second half of the tenth and early ninth century. In part the survival of the kingdom may be due to the tranquillity of the peoples on the north-eastern and eastern borders. Adad-nirari II ruled a large area of the Median plateau, as far as the city of Qumm, which he appears to have inherited from his father; and the resources available in that direction may have served the Assyrians well in withstanding the Aramaean pressure. The conditions which favoured Assyria were in any case accidental; by its constitution and its natural vigour the Assyrian nation was destined at this period to play the part of defender of civilisation, as in subsequent ages various western peoples have played that part. And as throughout the late eleventh and early tenth centuries the Assyrians defended civilisation, so from the ninth century onwards they reimposed civilisation in Western Asia by sweeping away the petty states with their separate tendencies, by reducing discordant elements in the population from power to slavery, and by holding in check those who sought to intrude from without.

The national struggle to resist and finally to

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PLATE XIX

SYRIAN ART, OF THE ELEVENTH-TENTH CENTURIES.

a. Human figure, wearing Hittite shoes, carrying in his left hand an 8-shaped shield of a type possibly introduced into western Asia from Crete about 1200 B.C., in his right a long spear, in his belt a broad-sword resembling that of the Egyptian mercenary Shardina. The cap is typical of the later Aramaean Syrians, as is the beard and the shaving of the lips. (After Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, Vol. III, Plate, XL.) See pp. 311-312.

b. Bull and Horseman. The horseman wears an Assyrian type of helmet, carries a Shardina shield, and a quiver. (Luschan, op. cit., Plate XLIV.)

c. Two genii, half men, half bull, hold up spears and are approached by the protective demons, "dagger-bearers," who drive off sickness. The scene is derived from Babylonian magic, and is executed in an Assyrian provincial style. (After Hogarth and Woolley, *Carchemish* Vol. I, B. 14*b*.)

d. Two soldiers of the King of Carchemish's army. They wear a crested and tasselled helmet resembling that of the Philistines, Carians and Urartians, probably introduced by the westward movement about 1200 B.C. Their shields are of the Shardina type. (After Hogarth and Woolley, op. cit., Vol. I, B. 2*b*.)

overcome the Aramaeans was the last stage in the evolution of the Assyrian state. From the end of the tenth to the end of the eighth century the Assyrian kingdom owed its form of government and the policy of its rulers to the long period of development which has been examined in this volume, but the principal immediate cause of national unity and of efficient organisation is to be sought in the little-known and stormy epoch which passed between the death of Tiglathpileser I and the accession of Adad-nirari II. It is a commonplace of the historian that national unity, even the sense of patriotism, arises owing to pressure from without; but in the ancient East pressure from without did not often lead to such happy results. No more instructive parallel for the understanding of the historical development of the type of polity called Oriental Monarchy can be adduced than that of Assyria and Babylonia at the close of the second millennium. History in both countries commences with the development of the administration of city-states into kingships over more extensive territories. The commencement of civil as opposed to priestly administration is to be found in Babylonia, and in many other respects the southern land anticipated, or was imitated by, the northern. But Babylonian administration was never completely emancipated from the disadvantages consequent upon the adaptation of the city-state organisation to national government; and the chaos into which Babylonia fell in the centuries following the death of Nebuchadrezzar may be partly explained by the persistence of rivalries between the cities and the traditional necessity for the king to rule at Babylon. In Assyria, on the other hand, the city administrations were entirely subservient to the central administration of the king and his court officials; there was no question of rivalries between the cities, of dynasties succeeding one another as belonging to different cities or tribes. The city of Ashur remained an important centre of religious worship, but it was not the one possible capital of the country; where the king and his court dwelt, there was the capital. The difference between

the two systems is greater than it might seem at first; it is, broadly considered, the difference between the rule of a tyrant of a single city over a geographical area, and the rule of a king over a nation. The result was to make Assyria the prototype of all Oriental monarchies, which depend upon such a national kingship for their existence, and not upon any precisely defined geographical location. There had, indeed, been a forerunner of the Assyrian monarchy in this sense in Egypt, where the highly centralised administration of the great Pharaohs of the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties had been similarly mobile and free from too close ties with any single city; but in this comparison the essential point of difference lay in the religious conception. In Egypt the Pharaoh, son of the Sun, was apt to be regarded as a god, just as the Hittite king, the Sun himself, was so considered. In Assyria, in spite of numerous efforts to prove the contrary, theocratic beliefs did not end in the deification of the king; he was never more than the priest of Ashur, the vicegerent of Enlil and so forth.[6] Egypt was ruled by the Pharaoh in his divine capacity; Assyria was governed by the king and his court according to military and civil offices. Assyria emerged from the Aramaean wars with renewed strength because this final stage in the national development was necessitated and adopted owing to the imminent danger.

At this point the early history of Assyria may be fitly closed. The military state of Assyria, which is the central point of the history of the civilised Eastern world for the next three centuries, had arisen. That state has been, with few exceptions, the object of the veiled dislike and moral reprobation of the modern historian. But it arose as the result of an able and intelligent effort to solve the difficulties of ruling lands which have rarely been better governed throughout the whole course of history than they were by the Assyrians. An attempt has been made in the foregoing pages to outline the course of affairs which inevitably led to the characteristics of the Assyrian state which mark it as a developed product of a great civilisation and not, as the classical writers

would have us believe, a primitive institution natural to barbarians. In the early Sumerian period the cities within the narrow limits of the land adopted the institutions and methods of their southern overlords, but were inhabited by a different race, the Subaraean. A new race which came into the land, probably from the west, brought a Semitic dialect with them which henceforth became the polite tongue ; but the invaders themselves did not come from the desert, and were not " Semites " in the lax sense of that term, but had close connections with some people in Asia Minor. Out of these various elements of population it was at first impossible to weld a unity, and those princes of the city of Ashur who were able to throw off the yoke of foreign dominion were no more than city governors who had annexed their conquests. One brilliant conqueror, Shamshi-Adad I, controlled for a time territories that might claim the name of empire ; but he was still essentially a city governor. Then came the collapse of the old conditions under pressure from the north and east, and Assyria when not the vassal was still subservient to southern or western neighbours, as the case might be. Throughout the middle centuries of the second millennium the powers contending for the mastery of Asia Minor were forcing the able men who ruled the little land on the Tigris to reorganise their people ; and that reorganisation, based as it was upon military necessity imposed from without, was so thoroughly carried out that the Assyrian army created an Assyrian nation. The last centuries of the second millennium were occupied by a cautious and successful attempt to consolidate Assyrian influence in a compact territory, and later, following a relapse due to the evils caused by contact with Babylon, a too rapid attempt to assert Assyrian supremacy over too wide a territory. Then came more than a century during which the nation in arms was tried by the most imminent peril it had yet encountered ; from that trial it emerged like a tempered weapon, fit cleanly to cut where others had hacked. That irresistible weapon the kings of subsequent centuries used to carve out an empire.

CHAPTER XX

ASSYRIAN CIVILISATION

THE Assyrians when they first entered the land they named after their god, brought with them certain social customs, and they were already engaged in agriculture. Their occupation of the southern portion of the land, in a district into which Sumerian domination had introduced all the characteristic features of the theocratic city-state organisation, led to the adoption of that system without any perceptible change. In all matters relating to government it is impossible to distinguish early Assyria from its southern neighbour; the city governors use titles borrowed from the Sumerians, and their building inscriptions imitate the wording used by the rulers of Lagash and Umma. But the social customs, the practice of common law, the industrial peculiarities, were not readily changed; though there is little or nothing known of these matters, the natural conservatism of the bulk of the people is sufficiently shown in the difference between the Assyrian and Babylonian calendars, and Assyrian and Babylonian law.

This dichotomy in Assyrian civilisation between native and Sumerian or early Babylonian institutions and practices may be traced fairly clearly in the centuries which lie between Ashur-uballiṭ and Tiglath-pileser I; thereby our almost complete ignorance of the civilisation from the time of the Assyrian invasion until the end of the fourteenth century, due to the absence of any considerable material remains or documents, becomes less important from the historical point of view. The present duty of those who would understand the ancient East is to discover, and estimate the value of, the features which distinguish one land,

one people, from another, in order that a more sharply defined conception than has hitherto been possible shall be attributed to the terms "Assyrian" and "Babylonian." It may be that absolute precision in using these terms will prove as impossible as it would be to distinguish between "Latin" and "Greek" in considering the civilisation of Rome in the first century of our era; a notable advance towards clearer views about these two eastern countries has been made during recent years, and much yet remains to be done. There is a small, but important body of evidence to establish some distinctive features of Assyrian civilisation to be found in the social customs, the art, the religious beliefs and the literary practice of the Assyrians during the thirteenth, twelfth and eleventh centuries, the period which may for brevity be called "Middle Assyrian."

There is a difficulty in pursuing this attempt to establish distinctively Assyrian characteristics in the civilisation. Other lands than Babylonia exercised a marked influence on the Tigris valley; customs and beliefs were introduced into the plain by mountaineers from the Zagros range, art and literature were given a new turn by intercourse with the Hittites, the manufacture of metal, pottery and stone objects changed and progressed because of the constant importation of things and men from the north and the west and possibly the east. Assyria in its turn must have given as much as it received. It is unlikely that the whole truth will ever be discernible; a particular development, a single object may by chance reveal such action and reaction, but all the facts will never be known. The second duty of historical study, after establishing the fact that there were distinctively Assyrian characteristics in the civilisation, is to note how diverse were the foreign influences and how great their effect. Only thus can the later development of the civilisation from the ninth century onwards be understood. During the time of the Assyrian empire there was throughout Western Asia an average level of civilisation which makes it almost impossible to distinguish one land from another, save in the

exceptional case of Judah; that state of affairs was only possible because Assyrian civilisation had tended to become, during the second millennium, a common denominator, if the metaphor may be allowed.

The only important evidence at present known as to the social conditions of the Middle Assyrian period consists in the parts of a law "code." One copy of this extant probably dates to the fourteenth or thirteenth century B.C., the others are later; the original may not have been more than a century older.[1] The major part of the extant laws deals with women of various classes; the smaller fragment contains some provisions concerning land tenure, sale and so forth.[2] The most interesting point to notice about these laws is the wide difference between them and the code drafted by Hammurabi. The Assyrian "code" would be better not termed a code at all; the laws contemplate individual cases, and clearly arose from judgments in particular cases. Hammurabi's code, like the Sumerian code which preceded it and was its model, is conceived and worded in more general terms. The difference is the more remarkable because copies of the Hammurabi code were made and studied in Assyria at the very time from which the Assyrian laws date. There is, moreover, a lack of system in the ordering of the laws within the subjects. Such lack of system is a not uncommon feature of ancient laws; in the set of Hittite laws extant the subjects even are not arranged. But it is a little surprising that the Assyrians, whose talent for ordering and arranging vast masses of material so far as literature was concerned is evinced by their treatment of Babylonian texts, should in this matter of codifying law have failed to assimilate the lesson taught by their southern neighbours.

An attempt has been made to import into the criticism of these laws a method once considered suitable to the criticism of Greek and Latin texts. The desire to make these laws conform to a standard required by comparatively modern legal theories has led to the discovery of glosses, interpolations, and editorial comments; and the conclusion has been drawn that these Assyrian laws represent in fact a jurist's hand-

book of special case-law. The deduction is sufficient to condemn the method applied. The precision and coherence requisite in legal wording of the Roman type should not be looked for in these laws, and the assumption that they are part of a work on jurisprudence is unnecessary.

There are some peculiar features in the position of women in Assyria which are not found in Babylonia. The most remarkable are the customs with regard to marriage and the treatment of widows. In Babylonia the universal custom to which no exception seems to be known was for the wife to enter the household of her husband. In Assyria besides this, the normal type, there was another fashion; the wife remained in her father's household and was visited by the husband. The cause of this difference is not quite certain, but the evidence seems to show that the custom of leaving the wife in her father's house was confined to the poorer classes, and that it was an arrangement arising from convenience rather than from any important difference in social habits. The other remarkable feature was the extensive nature of the levirate marriage. When a woman was engaged and the presents to her father and herself had been duly received, the right to the possession of her passed on the death of her bridegroom to his brother, and even to his father in certain circumstances; if a man's wife died, then he was entitled to claim her sister. The levirate practised by the Hebrews was more restricted than this; but the fact that the Hebrews and Assyrians alike retained this primitive custom, and that no documents can yet be adduced to show that it was also usual in Babylonia, is significant of the connection of the Assyrians with the west. That connection, which will be repeatedly mentioned in dealing with the material objects, has already been assumed in order to account for some features of Assyrian law in the earliest period. It is of course possible in matters of social practice to suppose that similar conditions gave rise to similar customs. The inference drawn depends on subjective opinion rather than on any logical criticism.

The ultimate legal authority in Assyria at the time

these laws were drawn up was the king. On his "word" depended the assessment of penalties and in certain cases of prices. It may be that this responsibility had once rested in Assyria, as it had done in the Cappadocian towns, on a communal court; in that case, the change was due to an imitation of Babylonian law. The kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon promulgated special edicts dealing with particular cases, and had centralised legal authority in their own hands, in order, perhaps, to remove the law courts from religious sanctions. The Assyrian kings, on the other hand, in occupying the place of the communal court, were tending to create a legal system of a larger kind than would be possible within the walls of a single city. The view that the "word" of the king had usurped an authority once due to the "word" of a communal court is favoured by certain of the laws, in which the older institution appears. Thus in the case of the appropriation of land for the support of bereaved women a herald proclaimed the fact three times, and any claimant had to appear before properly constituted civic authorities, who were alone entitled to declare the land free for occupation. More extensive documentary evidence for the early period may finally serve to show the process by which the customary law practised in village communities to this day was slowly transformed into a national system.

The laws recognised the usual division into three social classes which seems to have been a common feature of all civic life in Western Asia. The noble class are referred to throughout by the generic term *amelu*, "man," and it would appear that this designation was not superseded by the later *mar bani*, "son of a freeman," "aristocrat," until the ninth century. This use of *amelu* corresponds to the usage of the word in Babylonia under the First Dynasty, and it was no doubt in the class so designated that Babylonian influence was strongest. The position of the ordinary citizen, who is not specially designated in the laws as it is assumed that a law applies to him unless one of the other classes be expressly mentioned, is fortunately

known to us from a few documents of a private kind[2] from the city of Ashur. The remarkable feature about these documents, which are deeds of adoption, sales, exchanges and so forth, is that a certain number of the names are not "Semitic"; they resemble very closely some of the non-Semitic names in the Cappadocian and Kirkuk documents. The same characteristic belongs to the much later "contracts" from Nineveh, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the small noble class, who occupied the high offices of state and surrounded the person of the king, used the small number of stereotyped "Assyrian" names, but that the vast mass of the people continued to use the old, non-Semitic names for more than two thousand years after the amalgamation of races which produced the Assyrians was complete. But Semitic and non-Semitic names do appear in the same family, and intermarriage clearly produced the same phenomena in the ancient East as it has in modern Europe. Arguments from personal names should therefore be used much more carefully than is sometimes done.

As to the meaning of the word which appears to denote the poorest class of free men, *ḫubši*, there is some dispute.[3] It has been thought that this word denotes not, as it had been previously interpreted, a whole class of society, but is a term applied to those who were in permanent military service, though we have as yet no proof that there was any such class as the professional soldier. Whether this be so or not, they represent the poorest population, and owing to the risks run by the *ḫubši* on military duty—whether that duty was merely that of the militia, as is most likely, or the constant occupation of these men—special provision was made for their dependants during absence caused by imprisonment in enemy countries. The impression given by the laws in this respect is, that a conscious effort was made at some time in Assyria to secure better treatment for the ordinary member of the militia than was usual in early times. In Egypt by the twelfth century the military forces depended almost entirely on recruitment of foreign mercenaries, and these had been extensively employed

four centuries earlier. Assyria had never to depend upon such assistance. Babylonian armies seem to have consisted of contingents of various peoples and tribes who acknowledged Babylonian supremacy. Assyrian armies were thus composed also; but while the Babylonians were always ready to break and fly, in the manner of troops to whom victory and defeat are indifferent, the Assyrians fought with the determined constancy of men who themselves profit or lose by their performance in battle.

The organisation of the state for war is not reflected in the private documents [2] extant, but the king's officers occasionally named in them show that a complicated system of officialdom such as is natural to Oriental courts had been established by the time of Ashur-uballiṭ. The official titles used in Assyria present problems that have still to be made the subject of a comprehensive and searching study.[4] Some of them were used in Babylonia; some are quite peculiar to the Assyrians. Most of their functions can only be vaguely defined, and the meaning of a number has not been divined. In this matter further material must be awaited; if ever it becomes possible to trace the gradual development of the royal court and the creation of the great administrative offices, it may prove possible to give an approximately accurate account of one of the most interesting features of Assyrian polity, the existence of an executive body of officers round the king who intervened between the king and his people. For in the northern land there was not the free access to the person of the king usual in Babylonia. But at present only the barest details about the officials at the courts of the second millennium are known. The highest civil officer appears to have been the *ummanu*, a man skilled in secretarial work, who corresponded perhaps in his duties to the vizier of more modern times.[5] Another title which appears on several of the stelae erected in the curious memorial ground which occupied a corner of the city of Ashur (Plate XXIII, *b*), is that of the *sukallu rabu*. The word *sukallu* is a Sumerian loan word and appears to have designated house servants, messengers

and so forth; the *sukallu rabu* may have been the chief chamberlain at the court. In pre-Sargonic times this officer came to act as a kind of minister; under the Kassite kings the *sukallu* was specially engaged in the administration of the royal lands in Babylonia, but whether this was also the case in Assyria the evidence does not prove. In contradistinction to these titles the purely Assyrian *šariš šarri* (or *šutriš*) shows the influence of a more highly developed court life in the north. The title may possibly indicate the position occupied by this officer when the king lay on his couch and held court, as the military titles "turtan of the right" and "turtan of the left" appear to do in later times. Whether the word really denotes a eunuch there is nothing to prove.

Concerning the method of levying the army also there is little to be said. The organisation into "tens," "fifties" and "bands" (*kisru*) characteristic of the army in later times may have been the basis for calling up men whether for fighting or for the royal corvée. Such rulers as Adad-nirari I, Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-Enurta I obviously commanded highly trained troops which could be divided into columns and execute manoeuvres similar to those known from the later campaigns. Military organisation was forced upon the Assyrians by necessity; geographical situation and historical circumstances combined to produce in the middle valley of the Tigris a state which could only survive by the sword. The gradual rise and fairly prolonged successes of that state from the time of Ashur-uballiṭ until the death of Tiglathpileser I seem to show that the Assyrian state was already a military machine during that period.

Apart from the testimony of the private documents to the ordinary functions of human life, to the marrying, adoption, sheep-shearing, borrowing, there is one important matter in which their testimony corroborates that provided by the laws. The commonest means of exchange in Assyria between 1400 and 1050 was not gold or silver or copper, but lead; the more valuable metals were used but sparingly. The lead used was for the most part in lumps with some kind of

impression stamped upon them. Examples of this kind of currency have been found in a temple and can be dated with certainty to the reign of Tukulti-Enurta; but the impressions can now only just be seen, the designs are no longer visible. With these lumps there were found lead ornaments, and some curious roundels on which were various patterns and sometimes obscene representations of human beings.[6] The excavator believes that these roundels (Plate XIV, *d*) were used as a kind of token for the payment of temple women of the baser sort; others have suggested different explanations. The analogy of the silver objects from the earliest stratum at Ashur renders it probable that they were dedicated in the temple; but the original purpose of these objects still remains to be explained, and the excavator's theory seems the best explanation. The significance of these objects appears to the present writer to be that they explain Sennacherib's allusion to the casting of half-shekel pieces. If about 1250 B.C. the Assyrians were accustomed to the use of token-money in the temple of Ishtar, the use of such pieces was likely to spread. It should further be remembered that the continual reference to weights of different standards implies that there was some ready means of distinguishing one kind of weight from another. This development, if the view be correct, was of great commercial importance, and the lead roundels from Ashur may be the early forerunners of a highly advanced method of exchange.

One other feature of commercial life, beside the poverty of metal illustrated by the use of lead, must be mentioned. On the private business documents there is mention not only of the seals of individuals but of "the house of the city," and "the seal of the city" occurs also on Cappadocian documents. This "house of the city" may have been the communal trading centre; in any case it implies some body representing the city authorities as against the central administration of the king and his court. It may be assumed that this was a late survival of an early institution, which disappeared before the eighth century, for in the late "contracts" there is no mention of

"the house of the city." There is then some evidence for believing that in the conduct of business the last centuries of the second millennium were a period of transition marked by a gradual increase of the royal authority.

A curious problem is presented by the social and legal customs of the communities at and near Arraphа (Kirkuk). A number of legal and business documents from that area[7] have now been published which are very similar in language and in content to those of the Middle Assyrian period. They may be dated approximately to the fourteenth–thirteenth centuries, and are the records of Subaraean families for the most part. But the population was probably very mixed. Apart from purely Subaraean names, there is an occasional Assyrian, and some closely resemble the non-Semitic names in the Cappadocian and Middle Assyrian documents. The laws concerning marriage, adoption and crime illustrated by particular cases conform to the Assyrian laws. The question that arises is one of no little importance, but it cannot be definitely answered; were the people of Arraphа under Assyrian law and authority at the time these documents were written, or is the circumstance that their customs coincided with those of the Assyrians, whenever definitely opposed to those of the Babylonians, due to a derivation from a common origin? The first Assyrian king who claimed to conquer Arraphа, so far as we yet know, was Tukulti-Enurta I; but previous possession of this district is implied by the facts known about earlier kings. It has already been conjectured that Puzur-Ashur IV and his successors intermittently conquered the eastern districts and there would be little difficulty in supposing that both the Assyrian speech and some of the principal features of Assyrian law had long been imposed on Arraphа; but the alternative explanation is at least equally possible.

Though the people of Arraphа had much in common with the Assyrians, in certain cases the native element can be distinguished. The native calendar in use was neither Assyrian nor Babylonian. Unfortunately only three month names are known; two were called after

festivals of the gods Adad and Nergal, a third was called Ari. The Babylonian month names were occasionally used. The measures employed were also peculiar. In place of the Babylonian dry measures, the Assyrian omer was commonly used, and another measure, the *matu* of 80 omers, is confined to this district so far as we yet know, though it may finally prove to be Assyrian. The land specifications are given in omers and "ploughs," the second term again being confined to Arrapha so far as is yet known.

The religion of the district does not seem to have differed from the general Assyrian and Babylonian beliefs, save in one striking instance. A seal impression (Fig. 18) on a tablet shows the figures of Nabu, Marduk and an unnamed being, half human, half monster. Marduk has two heads, which are either those of an animal or a bird.[7] This remarkable representation calls for comment because the gods in Babylonia were always anthropomorphic, though accompanied by animals or theriomorphic emblems. In Assyria it is possible that Enurta was more closely identified with the bird of prey which was his symbol (Plate XVIII, *b*) than has hitherto been suspected; but the representation of Marduk or Ashur with an animal or bird head would have been inconceivable. The seal impression appears to testify to the survival of more primitive beliefs about the gods east of Tigris than we have evidence of elsewhere. But it is curious that Nabu is entirely human; why is the father partly animal while the son is simply man? And if, as it would seem natural to assume, the worship of Marduk was borrowed in this region from Babylon, how came he to differ so in form from the Babylonian conception, while preserving the double head? Only further light on the whole question of the civilisation

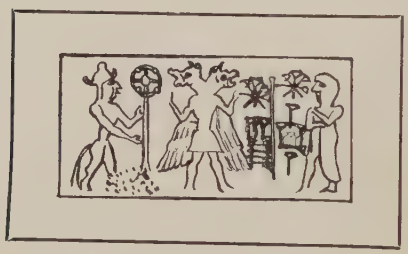


FIG. 18.

Seal impression on a tablet from Kirkuk. B.M. No. 17638, Gadd, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, Vol. XXIII, No. 75. The inscription reads "Nabu," to the right, and "Marduk," to the left. See p. 326.

of the people of the Zagros range will permit of the consideration of these intricate questions. The total impression received from the Kirkuk tablets is that these Subaraeans had a certain civilisation of their own, of a practical and peasant type; that they had absorbed certain elements of Sumerian and early Babylonian culture; but that their adoption of Semitic speech and legal customs from the river valleys only followed their conquest by the Assyrians. Their interest for the historian of Assyria lies principally in the last fact; by this means light is thrown on the methods of Assyrian provincial government. That government did not aim at a sudden and destructive introduction of a foreign manner of life or thought into the eastern provinces; but the laws of Assyria were imposed so far as proved necessary for administrative purposes.

It has been sufficiently demonstrated that the Assyrian state was cast into a peculiar form by the kings of the fourteenth to the twelfth century, and that its character then became what it remained until the end of the eighth century. An examination of the material remains should prove that out of dissimilar elements and influences an Assyrian art, with a character and content entirely its own, arose about the same time, unless the *a priori* view that art flourishes at times of national prosperity be fallacious. That there was indeed such an Assyrian art by the time of Tukulti-Enurta I has been revealed by the excavations at Ashur. But the task of studying the dissimilar elements and influences in it is extremely difficult because of the almost complete lack of material for the earlier periods. Even the evidence of cylinder seals is lacking for the space of time between the Cappadocian tablets and the reign of Eriba-Adad I and Ashur-uballiṭ I. Yet there is no subject which presents more fascinating problems; and the fuller study of the subject may reveal much of interest in the future.

The good fortune that has preserved impressions of the seals of Eriba-Adad and Ashur-uballiṭ[8] permits of certain inferences which have a considerable historical importance. The style of these seals

(Figs. 19, 20), which is quite distinct from those commonly used in Babylonia in Kassite times, proves that they belong to a large class which were used from the Mediterranean coast in the west to Arrapḫa in the east, from Palestine in the south to Caesarea (Mazaca) in the north. The earliest examples from the west that can be dated were found

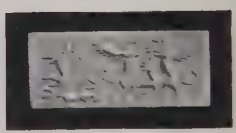
Fig. 19.

Impression of seal of Eriba-Adad I. (After Unger, *Assyrische und Babylonische Kunst*, p. 99, No. 21.) See pp. 327–8.

Fig. 20.

Impression of seal of Ashur-uballit. (After Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*, 354*a*.) See pp. 327–8.

with scarabs of the Hyksos period, while the latest belonged to the reign of Amenophis III. The peculiarity of these cylinders lies in the development of themes borrowed from Egypt and from the Mediterranean islands, more particularly Cyprus. Spirals, winged animals and monsters, sacred trees curiously stylised, men drinking through reeds from a central



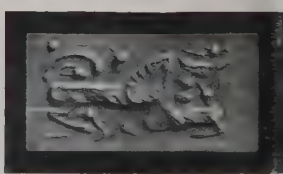


PLATE XX

CYLINDER SEALS.

a. Limestone seal, carved, not as is usual, in intaglio, but in relief, and flat cast of same, showing half-human half-bull figures of a prophylactic kind engaged in fighting lions; left, the symbols of Marduk and Nabu on stand below the crescent of Sin. Provenance uncertain. Length 5 cm. B.M. No. 102,504. See pp. 329-30

b, *c*. Seals with impressions of the style found on tablets from Kirkuk. On *c* is the representation of a chariot, sideways, of the Syrian and Mesopotamian type. Approximate date, 15th-14th century. B.M. Nos. 112,549 and 101,973. Lengths 1.6 cm. and 1.5 cm.

d. Seal in Syro-Hittite style of the middle of the second millennium. B.M. No. 89,819. Length 3.3 cm.

e. Seal in Assyrian style showing lion attacking bull. Approximate date 1300-1100 B.C. B.M. No. 19,968 Length 2.3 cm.

pot—these subjects are generally derived from early Sumerian seals, but in the second millennium they are characteristic of this class of seal, while in Babylonia the Kassite cylinders are not so engraved. The broad fact which results from the cylinder seals is, that the Assyrian seal cutters were under western influence. There is one detail only on a seal of the time of Eriba-Adad reminiscent of Kassite seals, the Maltese cross, which is characteristic of the Kassites (Fig. 21). But this cross is very extensively used on later Assyrian seals, and it may be that its use is due to an influence from the east, for these later seals are clearly to be connected with Elamite art.

Fig. 21.

Seal impression of the time of Eriba-Adad. (After Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*, II, 316*a*.) See p. 329.

It is a little surprising to find these later "Syro-Hittite" and Middle Assyrian seals being used so far

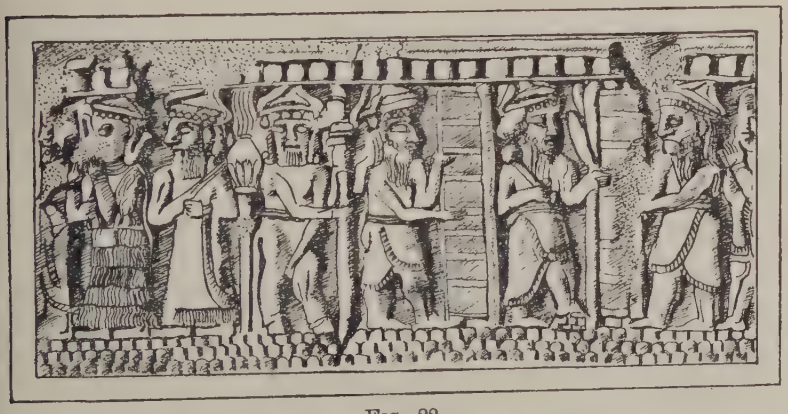


Fig. 22.

Cast of seal with bas-relief. From Gök Tepe, near Urmia. (After Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Letzt*, p. 277.) See p. 330.

east as Arrapḫa, for there had been in the Zagros range a quite different style of seal-cutting in earlier

times. In the well of a church in the Nestorian village of Gök Tepe, five miles south of Urmiyah, a very old seal was found (Fig. 22); the scene depicted was derived from Sumerian work, the opening of doors by divine and half-animal beings.[9] The curious feature about the seal is, that the figures are not engraved, but in relief; and there is a seal in the British Museum of the same kind (Plate XX, *a*). When this art, confined, so far as is known, to the northern Zagros, disappeared, it is impossible to say. The Kirkuk tablets with their impressions make it probable that the *terminus ante quem* must be placed about 1500 B.C.

The reason for Assyria and its dependent provinces having fallen under the influence of the west is most naturally sought in the dominion of the kings of Mitanni before 1350 B.C. In this connection the designation "Syro-Hittite" is apt to mislead. The term arose because certain features of these seals closely correspond to the art of the great rock sculptures of Asia Minor which were certainly within the Hittite boundaries at all times. But the Hittites were confirmed borrowers; there constantly appear in the "Hittite" art themes and details known to have been derived from Mesopotamia and Egypt, and the most distinctive feature of their representation of the human figure lies in the accidents of a dress suitable only for a mountain people. The great majority of the seals of this class come from Syria, the Hauran, Palestine, and other areas which the Hittites did not rule till after Shubbiluliu's death. But all these districts were under the influence of the Ḫurri and the kings of Mitanni from at least the sixteenth century if not earlier, and the most natural assumption is, that the dominion of Mitanni was responsible for the introduction of themes which thenceforward remained the most popular with the Assyrian artist.

But besides these seals of the "Syro-Hittite" type there are a number of Assyrian seals which must be ascribed to the second millennium though their exact date cannot be fixed. They are distinguishable because the cutting is very shallow. The favourite themes are taken from animal life, or represent hunting

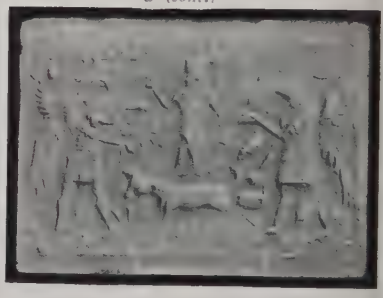


PLATE XXI

ASSYRIAN SEALS OF THE PERIOD 1200—900 B.C. TO ILLUSTRATE SHALLOW CUTTING IN INTAGLIO AND THE FREE AND FORMAL STYLES. See p. 142.

a. B.M. No. 89,620. Length 2.4 cm.
b. B.M. No. 103,313. Length 3 cm.
c. B.M. No. 89,575. Length 3.7 cm. From Nin. d.
d. B.M. No. 89,227. Length 4.4 cm.
e. B.M. No. 99,406. Length 1.4 cm. From Quyunjig.
f. B.M. No. 89,655. Length 3.5 cm. From Nimrud.

scenes. Though the seal-cutters allowed themselves but little depth of relief, there is precision in the detail of both human and animal anatomy, especially in the matter of muscles, and this character remains an abiding feature of Assyrian art from the second half of the second millennium onwards. Another distinctive feature is the freedom of effect gained by leaving great empty spaces; the single animal is frequently shown *bombinans in vacuo*. It is worth while to remark that the hunting scenes are not always derived from human life; in some cases they are clearly intended for the perpetual hunt that Sagittarius conducts in the heavens. These seals are frequently cut very roughly; but they are vigorous and pleasing, and testify to a natural aptitude in what we must believe to be purely Assyrian work.

This taste for a close study of animal and human form was not Babylonian. It must be due, either directly or indirectly, to Elamite influence,[10] for there an extreme naturalism in depicting animals was customary from the very earliest period. The seals from Elam do not approach the Assyrian in their fineness of execution; but the same spirit inspires the designs, and for that reason an Elamite influence has to be assumed.

Yet other Assyrian seals known to us from impressions show that the representation of buildings[11] much in the manner of the later friezes became the fashion apparently at the end of the second millennium and the beginning of the first. When the evidence from Ashur is at last fully published it may prove that in this as in other respects Assyrian art was already fully developed at an age earlier than has yet been suspected, and that the themes and manner of the ninth to the seventh centuries varied but little from the practice of the thirteenth to the tenth.

The discoveries at Tukulti-Enurta's capital clearly reinforce the impressions derived from the cylinder seals. Into the land which had been but a province of the kings of Ur and of Hammurabi artistically as well as politically, there came an influence from the west, from Syria and Cyprus, which produced an art

known to us in a distinctive Assyrian form from the painted bricks and orthostats found on the site of Kar-Tukulti-Enurta. The patterns and heraldic decorations executed in enamels of brilliant colours on the walls of the king's palace,[12] which betray an Egyptian influence through some intermediary, and the treatment of the magic tree and the animals, are closely connected with the art of the cylinder seals. When a fuller comparison with the objects from Enkomi in Cyprus is possible, it may be that the exact extent to which foreign influences modified the old art traditions derived from the Sumerian period will be more accurately defined; that there were western influences is already apparent. The evidence from the pottery also points to Cyprus. An unusual form of rhyton in the shape of a woman's head was found at Ashur; a precisely similar object (Plate XXII, *b*), clearly from the same factory, was excavated at Enkomi.[12] Other pots have a spout typical of Aegean ware (Plate XXII, *c*), not found otherwise in Assyria. The evidence, though at present confined to a few instances, is conclusive.

Did Hittite art also have a direct influence upon Assyrian art in the second millennium? It has become usual with certain authorities upon art to point to the miscellaneous stone reliefs and bronze figures classed as "Hittite" as showing that in the second millennium an art which originated in Asia Minor spread southwards and eastwards to the Tigris valley and beyond. The subject deserves more cautious treatment than it often receives. A large number of these "Hittite" stone reliefs are of very uncertain date; it is possible to vary in the attribution of the examples from Sinjirli (Sam'al), Jerablus (Carchemish) and Sakjegeuzi by many centuries; if, as some believe, the great body of work from these places dates from the eleventh to the ninth century,[13] then much of the argument in favour of "Hittite" influence on Assyria must be discounted, for the main features of Assyrian art were fixed in the twelfth century. Furthermore, the remarkable collection of painted and glazed terra-cottas from Boghaz-Keui and Caesarea[14] which are approximately dated to

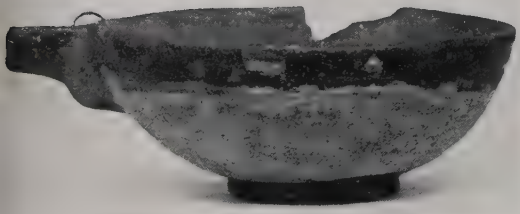


PLATE XXII

TO ILLUSTRATE INTERNATIONAL TRADE OF ASSYRIA.

a. Separate neck and rim of vase from Ashur, of a Cretan type. B.M. No. 116,360. (After Hall. *Bronze Age Civilization of Greece*.)

b. Rhyton in shape of woman's head, broken; closely resembles heads from Enkomi in Cyprus, and is probably from the same factory. From Ashur. (After Hall. *Bronze Age Civilisation of Greece*.) See p. 332.

c. Spouted glazed bowl of Mediterranean type. Exact provenance uncertain. B.M. No. 92,078. See p. 332.

d. Face in low relief on fayence; same style as b. Exact provenance uncertain. B.M. No. 9,196.

the period 1400–1200 B.C., though they clearly show the influence of Babylonia and Mesopotamia on Asia Minor, afford no proof whatever that Asia Minor affected Assyria directly (Plate XXIV). The art of painting in the two countries was rapidly diverging. The wisest verdict in this matter at present is *non liquet.*

The brilliant colour of the poor fragments from Kar-Tukulti-Enurta was obtained by a process of glazing for which receipts were prescribed in a work in Ashurbanipal's library. Some of the earliest beads found at Ashur, dating from before 2500 B.C., were glazed; and there is no sound reason to believe that the industry as practised in the twelfth century was other than a native development. Whether glass also was made in Assyria at this time is doubtful owing to the absence of any glass objects from excavations. The argument from absence in this connection is very weak, for only under exceptional circumstances could glass be expected to survive. Conditions in Assyria were as unfavourable, as Egyptian burial customs were favourable, to the survival of fragile objects. In the eighth–seventh centuries there was a peculiar type of glass made in Assyria, and the process may have been known much earlier.[15]

There are few bas-reliefs to show the work of which stone-masons were capable; one is on an "obelisk" probably made and inscribed in the reign of Adad-nirari II (Plate XVII), at the end of the tenth century. Since the inscription on that face of the obelisk which is carved with the panel in bas-relief seems to deal with the campaigns of Tiglathpileser I it is not impossible that he is the king represented as leading his enemies captive with rings through their noses. The style of this relief is clearly to be connected with that of the Ashurnaṣirpal II monuments, and does not really belong to the period here considered; but it shows that Assyrian work of this kind already had a long tradition behind it, and that the absence of works of art in this style of an earlier time is accidental. Egyptian influence—an influence more especially from the time of Amenophis IV—has very naturally been seen

in the hands descending from the sun-disc to present a bow and arrows to the king.

There is a well-preserved relief on a plinth or socket for a divine statue or standard, of an earlier period (Plate XXIII, *a*). This plinth was found against a wall built by Tukulti-Enurta I, together with the fragment of a statue which belongs to the period of Gudea or of the Third Dynasty of Ur. The date of this relief is therefore uncertain, but it must belong to about or a little before the middle of the thirteenth century. A king is represented in an attitude of adoration between two protecting figures, each bearing a circle with eight rays, perhaps to symbolise the sun, on his head; they hold two standards, again with the circle above, and a semicircle or crescent with tassels below. The circles are also repeated on the shoulders of the plinth. The theme is taken, as so many of the themes of later reliefs, from the art of the cylinder seal, and the influence of Babylonia is clear. These prophylactic figures, and the standards, are derived from Babylonian mythology and art. The narrow band of relief below shows men and horses climbing over mountains, and is more characteristically Assyrian. The monument proves the existence of the typical art of bas-relief in the northern country at an earlier date than would otherwise be known, and also proves that the Assyrian style was already fully developed.

The Assyrians of the second half of the second millennium were not, then, barbarians; their devotion to arms did not preclude the pursuit of more humane occupations, and they developed an art of their own which must be taken into account when considering the flourishing civilisation of the period all over Western Asia and the Mediterranean. It is much easier, however, to say of any object that its style is distinctively Assyrian than to define the Assyrian style. The same truth applies to their achievements in literature and in the pseudo-sciences. It is certain that the Assyrian scribes were engaged in transforming the literature they borrowed from Babylonia from the style of the First Dynasty of Babylon to the form in which we

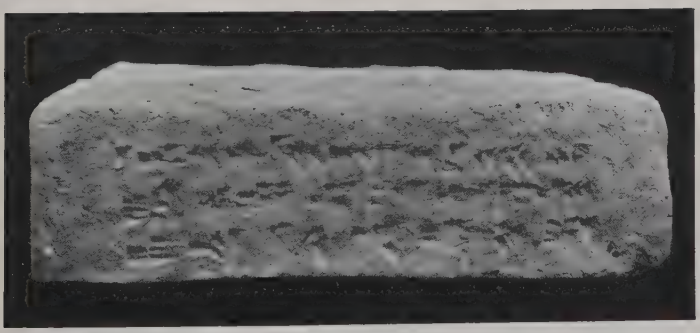


PLATE XXIII

a. Plinth for a statue or symbol of the god Shamash, dating from thirteenth century B.C. or earlier. From Ashur. In Berlin. (After Jordan in M.D.O.G. No. 49.) See p. 334.

b. East end of row of memorial statue inscribed with the names and titles of Assyrian officials. (After Andrae, *Stelenreihen in Assur*, Tafel IX*b*. See p. 322.

c. Brick from Sadawa, inscribed "Sennacherib, king of hosts, king of Assyria; I had the extension wall of the city of Kakzi made of burnt brick." Found built into a platform. (By kind permission of R. S. Cooke, Esq., Hon. Director of Antiquities, Iraq.) See p. 134.

find it in Ashurbanipal's library. The transformation depends upon the adjustment of detail, but the cumulative effect makes an impression different from that received from the earlier documents. From at least the reign of Arik-den-ili the royal inscriptions are more and more devoted to the king's exploits, and the first steps towards a prose style for historical writing were taken. In some respects the method of narration recalls very clearly the style of the preambles to the Hittite treaties written in a provincial Akkadian, and it may be that the Assyrians were consciously influenced in this respect by the Hittites, who composed annals of the reigns of their kings in their own language. In the great series of magical texts continual reference is made to the magic of peoples other than Assyrian, and it is possible to see in these references proof that not all that is contained in these texts was of Babylonian origin. The same truth holds of the series of omens. The labour of codifying and arranging texts, though practised by the Babylonians in the earlier period, was carried to greater lengths by the Assyrians. There is no proof that any great literary work was written in Assyria at this period; among this people there did not appear in the second millennium a man of creative genius in literature. But what they received they slightly changed and finally made their own. Perhaps the most striking example which illustrates their character may be found in the matter of epigraphy. From the time of Shamshi-Adad I onwards the scribes of Assyria went their own way in writing cuneiform signs, and developed a square script; by the end of the second millennium the Assyrian signs had finally received the form they kept in most cases, but the writing was not calligraphic until much later.

There are other points which are worthy of remark in the literature found at the city of Ashur, about which no positive statements can be made at present. It is conceivable that Mitannian elements may be found.[17] Egyptian influence is to be suspected in several cases, particularly in that of the very fragmentary text in which a scribe praises his art to a pupil, his "son." In other cases the future may

reveal the history of the development of a class of literature in which a freer, more humorous genius than that of the Assyrians or Babylonians finds expression, the dialogues. The two most interesting examples of this class are the dialogue between the tamarisk and the date-palm, and that between a master and his slave. The former, the wording of which suggests that it was used in some religious mime, is the forerunner of a whole series of the "contest" dialogues represented especially well in Arabic literature. It has been suggested that the dialogue between the master and the slave was similarly used, and this is by no means improbable.[17] The date of the copies of these texts appears to be late, perhaps the eighth or seventh century; but the spirit of them is not, so far as I can judge, that of the later age, and I am inclined to think they must be due to the imitation of some foreign models during the great age of international intercourse associated with the 'Amarnah correspondence.

In general, it may be said that Assyrian literature was formed and became distinctive about the time of Ashur-uballiṭ. Texts from many lands, but especially Sumerian and Babylonian religious works, were translated, remodelled, and finally imitated; and the final result was ultimately the formation of a prose style which is seen at its best in the historical inscriptions of a much later age.

The same kind of phenomena are to be observed in Assyrian religion. Every one of the Assyrian gods was also worshipped in Babylonia, with the sole exception of Ashur himself. But Ishtar of Nineveh enjoyed a special reputation with western and northern peoples, though in general her character may not have differed from the Ishtars of Babylonian cities. So also with the religious festivals; those in Assyria were held at the same time and in the same manner as those in Babylonia, but there is sometimes a chance reference, for instance to ritual practices with a tree-trunk, which reveals a national peculiarity. But the general difficulties encountered in the attempt to appraise the individual character of the Assyrian religion are insuperable, at present. The gap in our knowledge

of Babylonian literature between the time of the First Dynasty and the New Babylonian period may eventually be filled by the discovery of some site where scribes were active in the southern land during this period; until then, the impression which might be made by the collection of material known from Assyrian sources but not yet found in Babylonian copies might lead to the falsest conclusions.

The problem is indeed linked with a much larger question which has scarcely received the attention it deserves. The Sumerians very definitely associated certain gods with certain cities; but the worship of any one of these gods was not exclusively confined to his city, for there is evidence that the whole pantheon, or nearly the whole pantheon, certain insignificant gods being excepted, was recognised in every city. And it is not in reality likely that the worship of a god like Enlil was imposed on other cities than Nippur by force of arms,[18] firstly because there is not the slightest ground to believe that any ruler of Nippur exercised his power outside the walls of his own city, and secondly, because if the worship of a god is imposed by military dominance, it is generally shaken off when that dominance ceases. The problem continues thus throughout the history of Babylonia. Marduk, the city-god of Babylon, the counterpart and rival of Ashur, was recognised and worshipped in Assyria in the second millennium; had that worship been a proof of Babylonian dominion in the north, one would expect the name of the god to be hated and rejected by a proud and independent people. In the 'Amarnah correspondence there is evidence that the god Nergal of Kuthah was worshipped in Palestine; why should this particular god have received attention in this distant land if political supremacy be the explanation of the spread of such worship? This whole system which would explain the spread of Babylonian religion, its overpowering effect in Asia, breaks down when closely examined. And the lack of a distinctive, individual character in Assyrian religion during the period now under consideration, and later, is due to causes which underlie the conception of the Babylonian pantheon.

The mind of man has at all times, in all places, dwelt upon certain basic facts of life. Death, sickness, evil hap inevitably present themselves, have to be explained and if possible avoided. Different races have found various means of facing the problem. For some death has become, not something to be feared, but to be welcomed, if met in a particular manner. For some, for instance the Egyptians, there was an esoteric knowledge available which secured as was thought a happy hereafter. For the inhabitants of Western Asia there was no such comfort. Death was the end of all things: the hereafter was a land of tormented spirits, or at best of gibbering ghosts. The curiously practical, and in some respects non-religious, attitude of the bedouin towards these questions is well known, since it has often been attested by European travellers who knew them well. That attitude was the one common throughout Western Asia so far as we know, with the single exception of the Hebrews. For men who hold so hopeless a view, sickness and misfortune are evils to be avoided by any and every means. And so it came about that the thought of the most intellectual race in Western Asia came to centre increasingly about disease and ill hap, and a pseudo-science which explained these by a course of reasoning and applied remedies suggested by the explanation is the core of a large part of Babylonian literary work. No other highly civilised race of antiquity allowed its thoughts and best endeavours so consistently to dwell upon these morbid subjects. No other people was so perpetually devoted to the acquisition of shekels, so completely absorbed in the pursuit of prosperity in this life. And in this respect, history has shown little development; as it was yesterday, so it is to-day and will be to-morrow in these lands.*

The reasoning adopted by the Babylonians to deal with disease was the logic of nightmare. Once, for

* These sentences must not be taken to mean that all Babylonian religion and belief can be explained by the desire to understand and avoid sickness and disaster. My point is that this became the substantial feature, the benefit which it conferred upon its adherents.

a

b

c

d

PLATE XXIV

PAINTED AND GLAZED TERRA-COTTAS OF THE HITTITE PERIOD IN ASIA MINOR.

a. Head of a bull, ears and horns broken, fayence. From Boghaz Keni. In the Louvre. (After de Genouillac, *Ceramique Cappadocienne* tome II planche 2).

b. Vase in form of squatting dog, with holes in mouth and chest, in polychrome fayence; very similar in style to the squatting dog with vase, of steatite, in Cros (Heuzey) *Nouvelles Fouilles de Tello* plate Va, with an inscription of Samsu-iluna. From Kara-Euyuk. In the Louvre. (After de Genouillac; *ibid.*, pl. 5.)

c. Jar with black geometrical ornament. From Cappadocia. In the Louvre. (After de Genouillac, *ibid.*, pl. 23 bis.)

d. Vase in form of lion. From Kara Euyuk. In the Louvre. (After de Genouillac, *ibid.*, pl. 8.) See p. 332.

instance, the observed fact of the occasional connection of worm-like appearances and toothache had presented itself to the intelligence, the logic of thought took back the cause of pain to the creation of the worm; and so to be rid of the toothache the recital of the origin of the worm gave ultimate power to remove it. The intelligence with which this system was followed out into minute ramifications is undeniable; it is no less obvious that the system once created had an extraordinary attraction. The bitter words of Juvenal have described the popularity of the Chaldaean magicians amongst the aristocrats of Rome, at a time when cultured minds were unable to preserve the dry light of reason first lit by the Greeks in the capital of the world. Those Chaldaeans, whose books and incantations derived from the great revival of Babylonian literature in Seleucid times, were profiting from the eternal desire to find a means of escape from the ills of life. For exactly similar reasons, the smaller world of Western Asia turned constantly to Babylonia throughout the third and second millennia before Christ. The inspiration is very clearly illustrated not only by the borrowing of literary works, but by the themes of art. The Hittites translated astrological texts from Babylonia into their own language for precisely the same reason that the princes of Mesopotamia and Syria had prophylactic figures depicted upon their walls at a later date. All over Asia the Babylonian pantheon, adopted and adapted to make room for local divinities, was worshipped because the system on which that pantheon had been constructed promised some kind of relief from the oppression of demons and evil spirits.

The system was so logically coherent that it had to be accepted entire; those who would drive away devils by placing prophylactic figures under the floor or on the wall must know stories of how in the primaeval ages the gods had fought the demons, those who would avoid the mischances of life must know the peculiar god to whom it was necessary to turn when the omens were bad. The worship of Ea and Marduk, the gods of healing, of Nergal, the god who ruled the underworld spirits, necessitated the acceptance of Anu and

Enlil, gods who served in the myths to explain the origin of things. The desire to profit by the oracles of Shamash or Ishtar, or to learn from the phases of Sin the chances of the future, resulted in a mode of thought derived from Babylonia. And Western Asia in the second half of the second millennium appears for the most part to have accepted the system without demur.

But within the system old nature cults and local ritual practices could find a place. The religions of the northern peoples, with their worship of mountains and rivers, could not be said to have suffered any change owing to the new line of thought introduced. The Gutii in the east, the Sutu in the west continued their own particular kinds of witchcraft, as is clear from the *Maqlu* texts.[19] The religions of the various peoples of Western Asia from about 1500–800 B.C. were in fact one and the same religion in various local or national forms; the phenomenon reappears in later history in the course of the development of the Christian and Muslim creeds. In certain isolated cases exceptions present themselves; the Hebrews, the Phoenicians, the Aribi never accepted the dominant faith, but these very exceptions serve only to enhance the significance of the general rule.

The lack of individuality then in the Assyrians was no more remarkable than that of the Romans, who similarly accepted a religion not their own. It is more profitable to turn to the very few distinctive features of their religious practice, and only two seem to be established for the period under consideration. One consists in the position of the national god, Ashur, and this has already been considered. The other lies in the prominence of the gods of war, or of the warlike characteristics of well-known gods. The Ishtars of Ashur and of Arba-ilu were pre-eminently warlike, Enurta is almost exclusively mentioned in the royal inscriptions as the god of battles, and Shulmanu, a god not yet known outside Assyria, had the same character. Now it is worth remarking of the reverence paid to these gods of war that their cults seem to rise into prominence quite late in the second millennium, and gradually to have increased until the final fall of

Assyria. The connection with the military character of the administration introduced presumably about the time of Ashur-uballit is obvious and does not need to be emphasized. But the worship of these gods of war, or of gods in their warlike character, did evoke a not unworthy literature. The lament to Ishtar of Ashurnasirpal I, the hymn to Enurta of Ashurnaṣirpal II,[20] were Assyrian compositions, modelled, it is true, on Babylonian lines, but proving that this people was not so entirely lacking in literary gifts as we are sometimes led to assume. It is extremely difficult on the evidence now available to form a just estimate of Assyrian religion, and of the particular activities it called forth; but the expressions of many modern writers, which would lead to the opinion that that land has nothing of interest to reveal to the student of human development, are very wide of the mark. It is precisely in the small advances made by the Assyrians that real progress in Western Asia lay.

The taste of the Assyrians was, moreover, catholic. They were not bound to observe any of the local differences that were recognised in Babylonia. The Gilgamesh epic, of which the only Babylonian edition, which dates from about 2100–1900 B.C., was found at Erech, was never mentioned apparently by the priests of Babylon: the Assyrians studied it. The strange poem, "Let me praise the lord of wisdom," which propounds the same problem as the book of Job, though it states the matter in a different way,[21] was acceptable to them. To this catholicity no small debt was owed by the ancient world; and to it we owe our modern knowledge of these works, which deserve a more searching analysis than they have yet received for their importance in the history of the development of the human spirit to be appreciated. If a broad taste for the best available is a mark of culture, then the Assyrians were a cultivated people; their crass superstitions, their readiness to adopt religious and semi-religious beliefs, and their devotion to the collection of all religious literature must not be allowed to obscure their merit.

It will be seen from what has been stated that the

time for a general appreciation of the Assyrian contribution to human progress during the second millennium has not yet arrived. It is even impossible to be clear in expressing the distinctively Assyrian qualities, though it is rarely possible to mistake them when they appear. The people has been under-estimated in the past. The danger of over-estimation is equally to be avoided. But in literature, in art, in religious worship they took certain steps which were the more full of significance because they were readily communicated to the other peoples who shared a common civilisation. And in considering their position in human history, their geographical position and the difficult nature of the task which they were set must never be forgotten. When the period of the Aramaean invasions had passed by, they were able to impose some sort of order on, and to reintroduce a higher civilisation into, the sorely troubled lands of Western Asia.

APPENDIX: CHRONOLOGY

Assyrian chronology is of exceptional importance, because the whole of the chronological arrangement of the history of the ancient East depends in the last resort upon information derived from Assyrian sources. Were it not for the fortunate accident that a fragment of a tablet contains the notice of an eclipse of the sun, discovered by the genius of George Smith, it would be impossible to be precise about any dates before the seventh century in the history of Egypt or Babylon. This precision extends to the ninth century B.C. ; before that period, there is approximate precision from about the middle of the fourteenth century, the margin of possible error being about a decade. Even earlier, there is a general agreement that approximate dates can be assigned within less than half a century as early as the eighteenth century. For the earlier period, from Sargon of Agade to the end of the First or Amorite Dynasty of Babylon, there is a discrepancy in the estimates of modern scholars which amounts to a century. The nature of the evidence on which this imposing structure rests must be very carefully examined.

It was the Assyrian custom from at least the period of the Third Dynasty of Ur to date the year by the name of a person. This official was called a *limu* or *limmu*, as also was his period of office. Long lists of these officials were compiled, which fall into two main classes ; the more important of the two gave the name of the *limu*, his official capacity in the Assyrian state, and a brief note concerning the chief event in the year so far as the king himself was concerned, while the second class simply recounted the names. The two classes may be conveniently referred to as the eponym chronicle and the eponym lists.

Of the eponym chronicle very little remains, yet it contains the information upon which precise dating rests, discovered by the genius of George Smith. The relevant entry in the chronicle reads " Pur-Sagale. Governor of Gozan. Revolt in the city of Ashur. In Simanu, there was an eclipse of the sun." This eclipse of the sun has been astronomically fixed,

on grounds that have never been questioned, as having taken place on June 15th, 763 B.C. according to modern reckoning. The year of Pur-Sagale is therefore called in modern histories 763; and that figure is thenceforward used as a basis for reckoning by the Assyrian calendar. That calendar in the late period began with the month of Nisan, and contained twelve lunar months; the lunar year was periodically adjusted to agree with the solar year by intercalating a month when the king so decreed. There was not, in Assyria, any canon for intercalating months, and the practice seems to have rested on the observations of official astronomers, whose aim was to secure that Nisan should not fall over a month later than the spring equinox and not too much before it, the observations being based, in the opinion of some, on the heliacal risings of certain stars; roughly, therefore, the first month of the Assyrian year corresponds to March-April in modern reckoning, and the year called 763 must be understood to mean March 763–March 762.

Given the date of Pur-Sagale it is possible to turn to the eponym lists and assign dates to the eponyms who preceded and followed him. Here, as usual, there are discrepancies. One eponym list as against two other lists and the eponym chronicle allows twenty-nine eponyms to the reign of Adad-nirari III. Not only is the weight of the evidence in favour of the lower number; the intrusion of an extra name can be convincingly explained as a scribal error, due to the duplication of a name and its abbreviated form, and a subsequent disarrangement in the order.[1] There is one other discrepancy that affects the reign of Shalmaneser III. Certain lists from Nineveh assigned thirty-five eponyms to this reign; the great list from Ashur, however, gave only thirty-four, and is supported by the king's own annals in this respect, since a fragment of the eponym chronicle establishes synchronisms for the middle of the reign.[2] Once again the lower number is probably the more correct, though it cannot be said that absolute certainty prevails in this matter. Apart from these two discrepancies, however, there is complete agreement in the lists, and, accepting the lower dating, the eponyms of the years 890 to 667 are all known. For the years 667 to 648 it is possible to reconstruct the list with some certainty from the evidence of business and other documents, which establish the order by the logic of events. A curious feature of the eponym canon consists in the fact that we occasionally have a different name given for a known year on the other documents. Thus the annals of Tukulti-Enurta II are dated in the eponymy of Na'di-ilu, which must be the last year of

that king's reign. But the canon gives the eponym as Yari'i.[3] Two explanations are possible. Either Yari'i or Na'di-ilu may have died during the year and been succeeded by the other; or the two names may belong to one and the same person. Perhaps the former is the more acceptable explanation.

Though the consecutive list of eponyms does not go beyond the year 890, it is possible to restore parts of it for the earlier period. At Ashur a great tablet was found which contained originally ten columns inscribed with the names of eponyms [4]; this list started at a date shortly before 1200 B.C. and continued to the end of Ashurbanipal's reign. In its present condition the tablet is much damaged, but the fortunate circumstance that columns VII, VIII, IX, and the greater part of VI, can be restored with certainty from the lists found in Ashurbanipal's library permits of certain conclusions. Column VII gave the eponyms of the years 835–775, column VIII of 774–716, column IX of 715–652. In each case the number of lines in the column amounted to sixty-four, certain lines being occupied with totals of years, on a set system. A simple calculation for column VI, a case in which there were at least two, probably three, more lines than in the other columns, shows that it gave the eponyms for 899–836; the possible margin of error is not more than one year at the higher limit. On the assumption that columns III, IV, and V all contained at least sixty-four, but perhaps sixty-six or seven, lines, it is possible to reconstruct the columns in such a way as to assign approximate dates to the eponyms whose names are still extant. The dating thus obtained cannot be too high, but may be too low by an increasing figure, which even in the case of the eponyms of column III is not likely to exceed a decade. Reconstructed in this way, column VI gave the eponyms of the years 889–836, column V those for 958–900, column IV for 1020–959, column III for 1067–1021. The important eponym years are those of the kings, which would be placed on this reckoning as follows:

1056	Enurta-apal-Ekur ...	(earliest, 1066)
1036	Ashur-naṣir-pal ...	(,, 1046)
1017	Shulmanu-asharidu ...	(,, 1025)
1005	Ashur-nirari ...	(,, 1013)
999	Ashur-rabi ...	(,, 1007)
956	Tukulti-apal-esharra	(,, 962)
925	Ashur-dan	(,, 931)

The eponym chronicle observed a uniform practice, to mark the beginning and end of a king's reign; a line is drawn as a dividing mark. One exceptional case occurs in the reign

of Ashur-dan III, who nominally reigned from 772 to 746; a line is drawn between the years 764 and 763. This is not an error, nor does it mark, as some have held,[5] that another king ruled from 763 to 746; it signifies that there was civil war and anarchy in Assyria from 763 to 759. Peace, restored in 758, probably led to different conditions. The device is intelligible and not really an exception to the rule. But the eponym lists observe two different methods in the use of these lines. One is the same as that which appears in the eponym chronicle; the second is based on the dates at which the kings served as eponyms, and these may bear no exact relation to their reigns. Thus the great list from Ashur marks a line before the eponym year of Shalmaneser III, and gives in the preceding line a total of 24 (probably an error for 25) years. At first sight it might appear that this is intended for the length of Ashurnaṣirpal's reign; in actual fact, however, it records the number of years between the eponymy of Ashurnaṣirpal II and Shalmaneser III.[6] In certain cases the two different methods have caused confusion in the lists themselves, which adopt both methods at once. The lines in the eponym lists are then of no use for the fixing of the reign of a king unless some fixed rule was observed as to the relation between the king's eponym year and the beginning of his reign.

Different customs were observed in this matter in different centuries. Tukulti-Enurta II, Ashurnaṣirpal II, Shalmaneser III, Shamshi-Adad V, all occupied the office of *limu* in their second full year of reign; Adad-nirari III, Shalmaneser IV, Ashur-dan III and Ashur-nirari V took the office in their first full year. Tiglathpileser III and Sargon II deferred the function to their third year, Sennacherib to his eighteenth, while Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal did not occupy the position at all. It would seem then that until the end of the eighth century the king became *limu* either in his second year, the earlier practice, or in his first, the later custom; in the seventh century this was sometimes disregarded and then the king rejected the office altogether. It is safe to infer that in the period before Tukulti-Enurta II the king did not occupy the office of eponym later than his second year, though he may have done so in his first. That means that the totals given by the lists between the eponymies of kings amounts in practice to the length of the reigns of the kings, with a possible error of one year at most. The months before the first Nisan after a king's accession were called "beginning of kingship" and not reckoned in the regnal years.

This general principle in connection with the great eponym

list from Ashur enables us to use that list to fix the length of certain reigns prior to the period of Tukulti-Enurta II, and to state an approximate date, allowing a margin of one year in addition to that incurred in the calculations of the eponyms. But it should be noted that an additional cause of error here must be admitted. During the period for which the eponym list is complete, there is no case of any person occupying the office for two years in succession, but this occurs in the period covered by the fragmentary great list from Ashur. Thus in the reign of Tiglathpileser II the eponym who followed the king, Ashur-bel-lamur, had a "subsequent" eponymy. This peculiarity finds more significant expression in the reign of Ashur-nirari IV, who occupied the office himself for six years in succession, the whole of his reign. It may be—though it is not very probable—that this attempt to retain the office in the hands of the king, or some other official, was anticipated in previous reigns; this would make the margin of error in the reconstitution of the great Ashur list larger, but not to any considerable extent, owing to the notation adopted in that list. But the evidence is by no means in favour of such an assumption, and for the present it cannot be allowed to interfere with the chronological scheme. This scheme is far from perfect, but it is useful, since it supplies dates which cannot be too high, though they may be too low within the given margin of ten years.

Assuming then that the kings between 1060 and 890 in general took the eponym office in their second full year of reign, except in the case of Ashur-nirari, who seems to have occupied it immediately, and applying the figures obtained from the reconstituted eponym list, the following minimal dates result:

	First Year.	Last Year.
Tiglath-pileser I	1115.	1058
Enurta-apal-ekur II	1077.	1057
Ashur-bel-kala	1074	
Eriba-Adad II		
Shamshi-Adad IV		1038
Ashurnaṣirpal I	1050	1037–1019
Shalmaneser II	1033	1018–1006
Ashur-nirari IV		1005–1000
Ashur-rabi II		999–
Ashur-resh-ishi II		–958
Tiglathpileser II		957–927
Ashur-dan II		926–912
Adad-nirari II		911–889

For the period from 890 to 648 the chronology fixed by the eponym list is amplified and corroborated by the royal inscriptions, chronicles written at Babylon in the New Babylonian and Persian periods, and by a mass of detail to be found in the records amassed in the library of Ashurbanipal. From this material the reigns of the kings are definitely fixed, often to the day of their accession, and the sequence of campaigns is established beyond doubt. Only for two short periods, the reign of Shalmaneser V, 727–722, and the end of the reign of Sennacherib, 688–681, is there cause to question the sequence of events, and even in those cases the doubt is of a subordinate character which does not affect the historical conclusions.

From 648 the eponym canon fails. Many eponyms are known, whose date must fall after that year, but they cannot be certainly arranged. Historical inscriptions of Ashurbanipal inform us of events which fall after 648, but apart from this we have no exact chronological data until the year 616, when the Nabopolassar chronicle begins. The date 616 depends upon the date assigned to Nabopolassar, which can be accurately determined from the dating of business documents from the Persian period. Nabopolassar became king in Babylon in 626; his first full year of reign was 625. Now business documents found in Sippar are dated from the second to the seventh year of Sin-shar-ishkun, the last king of Assyria. Sippar was so close to Babylon that it is impossible to suppose that Sin-shar-ishkun still ruled at Sippar in 625. It is therefore clear that Sin-shar-ishkun's first year fell in or before 632. Ashur-eṭil-ilani reigned at least four years, and an interval between the two must be allowed for the reign of Sin-shum-lishir. The reign of Ashur-eṭil-ilani therefore began at latest in 637, possibly before that date. The exact chronology of this period must be left in doubt, but the dates assigned for the successors of Ashurbanipal must be regarded as the lowest possible.

The eponym lists provide then a framework for the chronology from the middle of the eleventh to the middle of the seventh century, and for the latter half of the seventh century a rough approximation can be attempted. On this framework the Assyrian king-list for that period can be satisfactorily fitted. The king-list indeed allows of a reconstruction of a more extensive but rather more vague kind for the earlier centuries. The sources upon which the Assyrian king-list depends are exceptionally reliable. The evidence of the royal inscriptions confirms the authority of king-lists found at Ashur; supplementary information may be extracted from chronicles and other documents. The gaps in

one type of record are now fortunately supplemented by information derived from another type; the list can be established with certainty from Puzur-Ashur I to Sin-shar-ishkun, and includes 87 names.[7] Thirty-one of these kings belong in the framework afforded by the eponym list, and on the approximate scheme deduced therefrom ruled four hundred and forty-four years, a little over fourteen years each. This is rather a low average for a stable monarchy, but it must be remembered that the eleventh and tenth centuries were very troubled times, and that over a long period a low average is far more probable than a high one.

The chronology of the reigns of the last thirty-one kings is established, with a small margin of error. But it is possible to base an approximate chronology for the fourteenth to the eleventh centuries on other information, which consists of synchronisms, more especially with Babylonian history. The Assyrian chroniclers were themselves aware of the importance of this kind of evidence, and beside the plain lists of Assyrian kings, with or without the numbers of their regnal years, they drew up comparative lists, in which the Babylonian and Assyrian kings who were contemporary were placed opposite one another; in cases where the king's chief secretary and most important minister was known, his name was given, either in additional columns or below the name of the king. These important synchronistic lists fall into two classes; in the first class the Assyrian kings are given in the first, the Babylonian in the second column, while in the second class this order is reversed. It is natural to infer from this that the scribes who compiled these lists in the reign of Ashurbanipal and later had access to two separate sources. In their own native sources the Assyrian kings are put first, while in sources of Babylonian origin the Babylonian kings appeared in the first column. The result is a very natural one; discrepancies occur which show that one of the two arrangements is not exact. A typical case of this is instructive because it concerns kings of the eleventh century whose history is comparatively well known. A list[8] which may be ascribed to Babylonian sources, on the assumption mentioned above, gives the following synchronisms:

Nabu-kudur-uṣur (I)	Enurta-tukulti-Ashur. Mutakkil-Nusku. Ashur-resh-ishi (I).
Enlil-nadin-apli.	do.
Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe	Tukulti-apal-Esharra (I). Enurta-apal-Ekur (II).

The great list[9] which contains information presumably from Assyrian sources gives another arrangement.

Enurta-tukulti-Ashur	Marduk . . .
Mutakkil-Nusku	Enurta- . . .
Ashur-resh-ishi	Enurta- . . .
	Nabu-kudur-uṣur (I).
	Enlil-nadin-apli.
Tukulti-apal-Esharra	Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe.
Enurta-apal-Ekur	Itti-Marduk-balaṭu.

The first list clearly makes Nebuchadrezzar I's accession precede that of Ashur-resh-ishi, while the second list marks Ashur-resh-ishi's accession as falling within the reign of Nebuchadrezzar's predecessor. An inexactitude of this kind makes a chronological arrangement which allows for only a small margin of error impossible, unless we may on other grounds discard one of the ancient sources.

In the particular case in question there is important evidence on which such a choice may be based. There are extant two fragmentary copies written in the seventh century of a letter of Nebuchadrezzar I which proves him to have been a contemporary of Enurta-tukulti-Ashur, as the first list states; the second list is therefore in error in making Ashur-resh-ishi's accession precede that of Nebuchadrezzar. Were the synchronistic list of kings which may be of Babylonian origin complete, it would be possible to feel more confidence in this matter; unfortunately only very few fragments are yet known. The Assyrian list, on the other hand, though broken, extends over a considerable period, from Bel-ibni, said to be a contemporary of Ishkibal of the Dynasty of the Sea-Land, down to Ashurbanipal and Kandalanu. The information gained from it is therefore useful, if it be remembered that it can only be considered a rough approximation. In certain cases it is possible to check it from other sources, but even these are suspect of considerable inaccuracies. The "Synchronous History" is particularly unreliable; the fragmentary Babylonian chronicles are the best authority. Where different sources agree in naming an Assyrian and Babylonian king as contemporaries, the historian must accept the synchronism as beyond question.

The value of these synchronisms consists in the fact that the Babylonian king-list can be used to estimate an approximate chronology. Many points in Babylonian chronology before the eighth century are not clear, but since the broken

Babylonian king-lists provide figures for some kings and these figures are for the most part now known, it is possible to reconstruct a rough scheme, which is not likely to be more than a quarter of a century wrong. Were the exact length of the reign of Mar-biti-aḫḫe-iddin known, it would be possible to reduce even this error to a minimum of about a decade. The king-lists are of course liable to a certain margin of error; two copies disagree between themselves, and sometimes with the dates of business documents. But such errors generally correct the one the other; the king-list did not by any means err in attributing figures that are too high, for in certain cases they are probably too low.[10]

The synchronous lists have proved of importance for the restoration of the Babylonian king-list, and it is now possible to give a list of the kings of the fourth, eighth, and ninth dynasties, which were formerly incompletely known. The following extract from the third and fourth columns of the great list gives a conspectus of the period from Enurta-apal-ekur to Adad-nirari II, and against the Babylonian kings are set the years of their reigns derived from other documents. Against the Assyrian kings the date derived from the eponym list is given, on the assumption that they held the *limu* office in their second year. The first year, not the accession year, is the date first given.

1067 or ~~1057~~–	Enurta-apal-ekur	Itti-Marduk-balaṭu.
	Ashur-bel-kala—	Marduk-shapik-zer-mati.
	—	Adad-apal-iddin, 22 yrs.
		Marduk-aḫḫe-eriba, 1½ yrs.
		Marduk-zer . . . 12 yrs.
		Nabu-shum-libur, 8 yrs.
	Eriba-Adad II	Simmash-Shipak, 18 yrs.
–1048 or ~~1038~~	Shamshi-Adad IV	Ea-mukin-zer, $\frac{5}{12}$ yr.
1047–1027 or ~~1037–1019~~	Ashurnaṣirpal I	Kashshu-nadin-aḫḫe, 3 yrs.
1026 or 1018–~~1015 or 1006~~	Shalmaneser II	Eulmash-shakin-shum, 17 yrs.
1014 or 1005–1009 or 1000	Ashur-nirari V	Enurta-kudur-uṣur, 3 yrs.
1008 or 999 –	Ashur-rabi II	Shiriqtum-Shuqamuna, ¼ yr.
–964 or 958	Ashur-resh-ishi II	Marbiti-apal-uṣur, 6 yrs.
963 or 958 –933 or 927	Tiglathpileser II	Nabu-mukin-apli, 36 yrs.
		Enurta-kudur-uṣur, 8 mths. 12 days.
		Marbiti-aḫ-iddin, ? mths.
932 or ~~926~~–912	Ashur-dan II	
911–899	Adad-nirari II	Shamash-mudammiq. 930

It has already been seen that this synchronous list is not reliable unless checked by other sources. Fortunately in the present case there is other evidence, provided by the "Synchronous History," which proves that the second, third,

and last synchronisms are correct. There is then sound ground for a chronological calculation. The Babylonian king-list allows over 81 years for the reigns from Adad-apal-iddin to Marbiti-apal-uṣur. Marbiti-apal-uṣur is given in the synchronous list as a contemporary of Ashur-resh-ishi II, who died at latest in 958; Adad-apal-iddin must therefore have reigned before 1038 by as many years as Marbiti-apal-uṣur's death preceded that of Ashur-resh-ishi. Now the period allowed for the three contemporaries of Tiglathpileser amounts to at least 37 years, whereas that king only reigned 31 years on the reckoning from the eponym lists. It is therefore probable that Nabu-mukin-apli began to reign at least six years before Ashur-resh-ishi's death. Adad-apal-iddin must be dated before 1045. Adad-apal-iddin's predecessor, Marduk-shapik-zer-mati, died a violent death, and perhaps reigned only a very short time; Ashur-bel-kala therefore may have begun to reign about 1050.

While these calculations are satisfactory so far, the unreliable nature of the synchronous list of kings is very clearly demonstrated. According to it, Ashur-bel-kala was the contemporary of five Babylonian kings, four of whom reigned nearly 43 years. If the reckoning of the king-list be compared with the approximate dating from the eponym list, on the basis that Marbiti-apal-uṣur died six years before Ashur-rosh-ishi, it is clear that Adad-apal-iddin must have been contemporary with Ashur-bel-kala, Eriba-Adad, Shamshi-Adad, and Ashurnaṣirpal. The synchronous list is in fact such a clumsy compilation that individual equations cannot be trusted. The general results outlined above cannot be far wrong.

In the earlier period there is a means of fixing the reign of Ashur-uballiṭ in the fourteenth century with only a small margin of error. The letter of Ashur-uballiṭ to Amenophis IV in the 'Amarnah archive shows that the Assyrian was powerful before the end of the reign of the heretic Pharaoh. Egyptologists are agreed that Amenophis IV reigned not earlier than 1380 to 1362, not later than 1375 to 1358. Ashur-uballiṭ addressed the Egyptian as "my brother," and can scarcely have dared to do so until he controlled Mitanni, at the time when Shutarna had usurped the sovereignty of that country. The usurpation of Shutarna followed shortly after the death of Dushratta, and events point to that death having occurred early in the reign of Amenophis IV, not later than, say, the Pharaoh's fifth year. Ashur-uballiṭ's predominance began then at latest somewhere about 1370; the length of time which he ruled before that is uncertain, but as a round date 1380 for

his accession cannot be wrong by more than a decade. But Assyria became predominant finally in Mitanni only about the time of Murshilish II's accession, which can be dated approximately to 1350; and it is clear that Ashur-uballiṭ was the Assyrian king of the time from his successor's inscriptions. Evidence points roughly to a date later than 1345 for Ashur-uballiṭ's decease.

Recently [11] a view has been put forward which would give the dates of this period an unexpected precision. Murshilish II, king of the Hittites in the fourteenth century B.C., was engaged in a bitter quarrel with the queen-mother Tawannannash, whom he believed guilty of his own wife's death because of a curse. In the course of a prayer made by Murshilish immediately after the statement of his wife's death, mention is made of some solar phenomenon, which is said to mean an eclipse. The year in which this took place is certainly the tenth year of Murshilish's reign, since it is definitely stated that Murshilish was in Azzi (the later Ḫazzi, Ḫazaz, 'Azaz) at the time of the phenomenon, and the expedition thither of the tenth year alone fits the circumstances. Now, in the period between 1362 and 1328 B.C., there were five eclipses of the sun visible at Boghaz Keui, in 1362, 1360, 1340, 1335, 1328. The only eclipse which was total was that of the 8th January, 1340, but that has been considered impossible as the subject of the reference by Murshilish, since it is thought that he could not have started on his expedition so early owing to climatic conditions. Of the partial eclipses, that which seems to fulfil the requirements best is that of 1335 B.C.; and this has been assumed to be a fixed date for Murshilish's tenth year. From that fixed date certain conclusions would inevitably follow. A king of Egypt, called by the Hittites Bibḫururiash, died in the year that two Hittite generals undertook a campaign against Amga (the Assyrian Unqi, *i.e.* 'Amq.); this event almost certainly took place in the year before Shubbiluliuma invaded Egyptian territory in Syria in 1351 B.C., a year that can be accurately dated from the outbreak of a plague which lasted twenty years. A general examination of the history of the time leads to the conclusion that Bibḫururiash must be Amenophis IV, Akhnaton, and on the basis of the latest dates given for this king and his predecessor and successor in Egyptian records, the following dates are obtained: Amenophis III, 1404–1369 B.C.; Amenophis IV, 1369–1352 B.C.; Tutankhamen, 1352–1347 B.C.

These precise dates would be more important if the links in the chain of arguments were more closely knit. As the theory has been stated by its protagonist, no single point

is absolutely certain, and no conclusion from the evidence more than possible. Yet the dates arrived at are not improbable in themselves, and may prove useful because it is most easy to state the known sequence of years at this time in terms of such dates. Until, however, it is conclusively proved that the Hittite text mentions an eclipse, and that the eclipse meant is that of 1335 B.C., it is better to avoid precision. The Egyptologists believe that Amenophis IV died at latest in 1358. Accepting this date, and the identification of Bibḫururiash as Amenophis, the following dates result for the Hittite and Mitanni wars :

Shubbiluliu	1360	Commencement of Syrian campaigns.
	1356	Campaign and instalment of Mattiuaza.
Arnuandash	1351	
Murshilish II	1350	

These dates are subject to error by as much as all Egyptian dates of this period ; they may be taken as correct within ten years either way if the identification of Amenophis IV, which is doubtful, is really correct.

There is still another source of chronology. When restoring old buildings both Babylonian and Assyrian kings occasionally found old foundation deposits and sometimes record the information at their disposal about the history of the building in their own inscriptions. There is a statement of Sennacherib [12] which affects the reign of Tiglathpileser I which must now be considered. Sennacherib, speaking of his capture of Babylon in 689 B.C., states that certain gods were brought away from that city 418 years after they had been captured from Tiglathpileser ; the defeat of Tiglathpileser would thereby be dated to the year 1106. The Babylonian king who was victorious on this occasion was Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe, and in the synchronous list derived from a Babylonian source he is given as contemporary with Tiglathpileser I and Enurta-apal-ekur II. Now it is certain that Tiglathpileser had a long reign ; he boasts in his inscriptions of having crossed the Euphrates twenty-eight times. This implies something like twenty years in western campaigns alone, and if his numerous campaigns elsewhere be considered, thirty years is a minimum estimate for his reign. The attempt to curtail this reign [13] to thirteen years is impossible and has been abandoned [14] by the scholar who proposed it. Now, the reconstructed eponym-list would give at lowest the year 1058, at most the year 1068, for Tiglathpileser's death ; Sennacherib's date for Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe's victory, if that fell at the beginning of Tiglathpileser's reign, would therefore be something like 15, or

at least 5, years too high. In that case it was not based on an exact calculation, but on a round number, and there is an argument to be adduced in favour of this view. Sennacherib speaks of 418 years elapsing between his restoring the lost Assyrian gods and their original capture ; and the restoration may have occurred, not in 689 B.C. but in 687 B.C., Sennacherib's eighteenth year. In that case the four hundred is a rough computation of the interval Tiglathpileser I—Sennacherib, and there is nothing surprising in the inaccuracy.

Sennacherib's "Bavian" date cannot then be considered sufficient ground for doubting the evidence of the reconstructed *limu*-list ; but the dates assigned from that list are admittedly the lowest possible, and the Bavian date makes it desirable to assume the higher dates. There are two further points between the reign of Ashur-uballiṭ and Tiglathpileser which can be approximately ascertained. Tiglathpileser I says [15] that Ashur-dan I built the temple of Anu 60 years before his time ; if Tiglathpileser be dated about 1098–1068 (or 1088–1058), Ashur-dan I began to reign about 1160 or 1150. Since Ashur-dan I was a contemporary of Ilbaba-shum-iddin, the last king but one of the Kassite dynasty, this question of Ashur-dan's date is of exceptional importance. The Babylonian king-list allows 168 years between the accession of Kurigalzu the Young and that of Ilbaba-shum-iddin. Now Kurigalzu was placed on the throne at Babylon by Ashur-uballiṭ some time before the end of his reign, and his accession cannot fall much later than 1340, assuming that Ashur-uballiṭ reigned so late as 1335. On this approximate reckoning, Ilbaba-shum-iddin's year of reign falls about 1172. Since Ashur-dan commenced to reign in or before 1172, his rebuilding of the Anu temple can hardly be reasonably dated lower than 1160 ; that is a decisive argument in favour of the highest possible dating for Tiglathpileser I. We are justified then in taking the higher limit for the eponym-lists.

The other point roughly settled is the period of Shalmaneser I and Tukulti-Enurta I. Esarhaddon says [16] that Shalmaneser I built the temple of Ashur 580 years before his time. Esarhaddon's first year fell in 680 B.C. ; Shalmaneser is therefore roughly dated about 1260 B.C. Sennacherib, however, records[17] the recapture of a seal originally the property of Shagarakti-Shuriash, which Tukulti-Enurta I, the son of Shalmaneser, had captured from Kashtiliash, and had then lost in his ultimate defeat when Adad-shum-naṣir revolted ; Sennacherib recovered it in 689 (? or later) after 600 years. This would date Tukulti-Enurta to 1289, obviously impossible if the previous date for

Shalmaneser be considered. According to the Babylonian king-list, Adad-shum-naṣir's accession fell 58 years before that of Ilbaba-shum-iddin's, which has already been approximately dated to 1172; since Adad-shum-naṣir's accession must fall in the same year as Tukulti-Enurta I's defeat and death, Tukulti-Enurta's last year cannot have fallen later, or much earlier, than 1230. This agrees roughly with the date assigned to Shalmaneser I by Esarhaddon; it is fair to assume that Shalmaneser's death fell some time after his building of the temple of Ashur, in 1260. Tukulti-Enurta I may be dated 1250–1230, with a margin of error still amounting to about a decade.

The reign of Tukulti-Enurta at Babylon raises a doubt about the methods of the king-list. The Babylonian Chronicle informs us that Tukulti-Enurta ruled Karduniash for seven years, and that afterwards the nobles of Akkad and Karduniash revolted and set Adad-shum-naṣir on the throne. Between Kashtiliash and Adad-shum-naṣir the king-list gives Enlil-nadin-shum, 1½ years, Kadashman-Ḫarbe, 1½ years, Adad-shum-iddin, 6 years. Now these years add up to 9, not 7; and consequently the late Professor King thought [18] that these reigns covered a period which included some part of the reign of Tukulti-Ashur. In the light of new knowledge of the Assyrian king-list this is impossible. It is accordingly necessary to suppose either that Tukulti-Enurta I reigned 9, not 7, years at Babylon, and was opposed by the three native Babylonians in succession, or that Enlil-nadin-shum, Kadashman-Ḫarbe, and Adad-shum-iddin so overlapped one another that their reigns actually covered only seven years. The latter seems the most reasonable supposition, and in that case doubt is thrown on the use of the figures in the Babylonian king-list. But the point in this case only affects the digit figure of the calculations, and the king-list may be used for these calculations up to the fourteenth century.

Were it correct to assume that Tukulti-Enurta's conquest of Babylon took place in his first or second year,[18a] on the basis of a text which recounts this event after the campaign of his accession year, it would be possible to determine the length of his reign as nine years at most. But the inscriptions of this king are not arranged in the style of annals, other texts give a different order, and it is unlikely that the text in question will bear the interpretation suggested. At present it is not easy to see how all the campaigns mentioned in Tukulti-Enurta's inscriptions can have taken place in a short reign, and some more decisive proof must be awaited.

Further calculations of this kind are possible in the cases

of Adad-nirari I and Enlil-kudur-uṣur. The latter appears to have died at the same time as Adad-shum-naṣir owing to wounds in a battle. Adad-shum-naṣir died 29 years before Ilbaba-shum-iddin's reign, that is in 1201. Adad-nirari I fought and defeated Nazi-maruttash, who reigned, on the same basis of calculation, 1318–1293. If the datings thus obtained be placed opposite the king's names, an approximation not likely to be more than 10 years wrong is obtained. The years attached to kings' names are derived from a new king-list.

Ashur-uballiṭ	1380–1335
Enlil-nirari	1335–
Arik-den-ili	
Adad-nirari I	1310–1280
Shalmaneser I	1280–1251
Tukulti-Enurta I	1250–1216
Ashur-nadin-apli (4-year reign)	1215–1212
Ashur-narari III (6-year reign)	1211–1206
Enlil-kudur-uṣur (5-year reign)	1205–1201
Enurta-apal-ekur (13-year reign)	1200–1188
Ashur-dan I	1187–1152
Enurta-tukulti-Ashur	1151–
Mutakkil-Nusku	
Ashur-resh-ishi	–1099
Tiglathpileser I	1098–1068

That is so far as our present knowledge allows of anything like chronological precision in estimating dates.

An estimation with a constantly increasing margin of error is all that is possible for the earlier centuries. The unfortunate gap in the list of the Kassite kings can be partly filled up now from the synchronous list, but there are more problems raised by this new evidence than are solved. The Ashur king-list omits the name Ushshi between Kashtiliash I and Abirattash given in the Babylonian king-list. Some scholars [19] have been tempted to read Ushshi as Kashtiliash, and to suppose that in the Ashur king-list the second Kashtiliash has changed places with Abirattash. This is impossible; the reading Kashtiliash in the Babylonian king-list can in no way be reconciled with the signs on the tablet. What conclusion is to be drawn from this discrepancy does not appear. A matter of more vital moment arises from a consideration of the genealogy of the second Agum, who calls himself Agum-kak-rime, son of Tazzigurumash, son of Abirattash. In the Ashur list this Agum appears as the ninth king, his father as the sixth, his grandfather as the fourth. If the period

covered by the fourth to the tenth kings was no more than the span of three generations, it is difficult to believe that they covered more than a hundred years, and the probability would seem to be that the interlopers in the list were no more than ephemeral usurpers. It is unlikely that the truth about this period will be known until a royal inscription turns up which explains the history of the time more fully.

The thirteenth king named in the Ashur list is Ulamburiash, who must be that Ulamburiash, brother of Kashtiliash, who conquered the Sea-Land after the departure of Ea-gamil to Elam. This proves that all previous attempts to make the fall of the Sea-Land Dynasty contemporary with the commencement of the Kassite domination were erroneous. Now Ulamburiash was the second successor of Burnaburiash, who was contemporary with Puzur-Ashur IV of Assyria. This Puzur-Ashur IV has been wrongly dated in modern histories very frequently because of a misplaced entry in the Synchronous History [20]; it is now certain from the Assyrian king-list that Puzur-Ashur preceded Ashur-bel-nisheshu by a very considerable period, and must have reigned in the second half of the sixteenth century. The end of the Sea-Land Dynasty is thereby approximately fixed in round figures to about 1530; the error may amount to a quarter of a century.

As to the Kassite kings between Ulamburiash and Kurigalzu the Young, the Babylonian chronicle which records Ulamburiash's victory in the Sea-Land implies that another Agum ruled after him; whether immediately after him we cannot certainly say. Other kings in this gap are supplied by synchronisms with Assyrian kings and on boundary stones, but the confusion created by the discrepant accounts of Ashur-uballiṭ's contemporaries remains. It is an assumption, and a by no means unquestionable one, that the Ashur king-list gave the same total of Kassite kings as the Babylonian. It may have differed very considerably. Yet the lack of evidence about the period forces us to adopt the figures of the Babylonian king-list, though doubts as to the reliability, more especially as to the figures for the length of time reigned, cannot be suppressed. If the dynasty really ruled 576¾ years, then, if Ilbaba-shum-iddin be placed in 1172, the dynasty commenced in 1746 B.C. But this precision is not really warranted by our information. It has been seen that in one case nine years in the king-list is given as seven in another document. It is wiser to place the beginning of the Kassites about 1740 B.C., and admit a possible margin of error of about thirty years. The table of Kassite kings in this book merely retails the facts known to us from various sources, without

attempting to form a canonical list. The various attempts [21] of modern scholarship to reduce the chaos to order have all failed.

Given the general principle that statements by Assyrian kings can never be relied upon as quite exact, the period of the early kings can be roughly estimated. But even so there is considerable confusion, partly owing to the difficulties occasioned by the constant occurrence of kings of the same name. Shalmaneser I, dated roughly by Esarhaddon 1260, states [22] that 580 years elapsed between his own rebuilding of the temple of Ashur and the rebuilding by Shamshi-Adad; that is, Shamshi-Adad ruled about 1840 (or earlier, allowing for the length of Shalmaneser's reign). Esarhaddon, on the other hand, only allows 434 years [23] between Shamshi-Adad the son of Bel-kabi, and Shalmaneser I, in his account of the restorations on the same building. He therefore dated a Shamshi-Adad about 1700 B.C. A Shamshi-Adad is also mentioned by Tiglathpileser I, who states [24] that Shamshi-Adad the son of Ishme-Dagan restored the temple of Anu and Adad 641 years before Ashur-dan I. If Ashur-dan I be dated, on the reasoning adopted above, about 1170 B.C., then Shamshi-Adad son of Ishme-Dagan reigned about 1710 B.C. Tiglathpileser and Esarhaddon agree then that there was a Shamshi-Adad ruling about 1700 B.C.; Shalmaneser I knew of a Shamshi-Adad about 1840. The brick inscription of a certain Shamshi-Adad who built or restored this temple of Ashur describes him as "the son of Irikapkapu," not as "the son of Bel-kabi" or "son of Ishme-Dagan." There would seem to be two alternatives possible. Esarhaddon dates Shamshi-Adad the son of Bel-kabi 150 years later than Shalmaneser I dates Shamshi-Adad I the son of Irikapkapu. According to the king-list, Shamshi-Adad II was the fourteenth king after Shamshi-Adad I. Some of these thirteen kings appear to have been illegitimate; in any case the times were troubled. Seven names which appear in one list, Adasi, Bel-ibni, Lubai, Sharma-Adad, another, Bazai, and Lullai, are omitted in another; and it may be that they were contemporary in part with the legitimate kings, but formed a rival dynasty. But an interval of 150 years would be intelligible for the space between Shamshi-Adad I and II. Again, sixteen kings intervened between Shamshi-Adad II and Ashur-uballit, who began to reign about 1380. If Shamshi-Adad II be the king intended by Esarhaddon, 330 or 320 years for sixteen kings is a trifle long, but may not be far out. It is possible, therefore, that Esarhaddon has attributed to Shamshi-Adad I the son of Irikapkapu, the builder of the temple of Ashur, the genealogy and date of Shamshi-

Adad II. The other alternative would be that Esarhaddon's 434 years are purely a scribal error. In that case it is difficult to explain the fact that Tiglathpileser also knew of a Shamshi-Adad about 1700. In any case the Shamshi-Adad intended cannot be the son of Ishme-Dagan, that is Shamshi-Adad III, for then fourteen kings reigned 340 years, which is incredible. The first alternative provides the best explanation, and gives some slight reason for believing that Shamshi-Adad I ruled well before 1800, and Shamshi-Adad II about 1700.

The synchronistic list of kings has some information to give about the first half of the second millennium. According to its statement, Shamshi-Adad II was the contemporary of Agum I, Kashtiliash I, Abiratash, Kashtiliash II, Tazzigurumash, Ḫarba-Shipak, and two other kings, while his grandson Shamshi-Adad III was a contemporary of Meli-Shipak. The Babylonian king-list ascribes 44 years to the reigns of Agum and Kashtiliash, and gives as Kashtiliash I's successor his son Ushshi, who reigned eight years. It is improbable that Shamshi-Adad II should have reigned also over a period which included yet five other kings, besides two who ruled 44 years, and there must be some discrepancy. But the fact that the list makes Shamshi-Adad II a contemporary of Agum I is important. If the Kassites commenced to rule about 1740, Agum's reign lasted from 1724 to 1703; this is additional reason for accepting the date for Shamshi-Adad II already given.

It is now necessary to turn to the dynasty of the Sea-Land, which has so long been a thorny problem. There can now be no doubt that the Babylonians knew this dynasty was in part contemporary with the First Dynasty of Babylon and in part with the Kassites. The method in which they have been introduced into the king-list led modern scholars to misunderstand the intention of the scribe. The chief difficulty which must now be encountered is that already met in considering the Kassite dynasty. The great list from Ashur mentioned at least twelve kings of this dynasty: the Babylonian king-list gives only eleven. A modern scholar has even concluded that there were thirteen.[25] Clearly there was some discrepancy, and the answer to the problem will not be forthcoming until we know on what principle the canon was based. A more serious question for chronology is, how far can the figures given in the Babylonian king-list be accepted? The answer can fortunately be given; they cannot be accepted as exact. Iluma-ilum was a contemporary of Samsu-iluna and Abi-eshu', Damqi-ilishu of Ammi-ditana.[26] It is therefore impossible that a reign of 55 years (Itti-ili-nibi)

should have intervened between Iluma-ilum and Damqi-ilishu. If there was such a long reign, then Itti-ili-nibi must have been in part contemporary with Iluma-ilum or Damqi-ilishu.[27]

The Babylonian king-list gives eleven kings, 350 years, to the Sea-Land Dynasty. If Ea-gamil left the country about 1530, Iluma-ilum acceded about 1880; the margin of error may be very considerable, and to decide on the probabilities some help must be obtained from the Assyrian evidence.

For the period before Shamshi-Adad II the synchronous list of kings seems again to have adopted a clumsy method. The kings from Adasi to Sharma-Adad are equated one by one with kings of the Sea-Land Dynasty in Babylonia. It might seem that the scribe had taken king-lists of the two countries and simply written them down in order. In that case he was using a source other than the Babylonian king-list known to us, for he has inserted an unknown name between Gulkishar and Peshgaldaramash. But it is curious that seven of these Assyrian kings were probably contemporary in part with their predecessors and successors, since they were not recognised in all the lists; and that the kings of the Sea-Land are also contemporary in part with the First or Amorite Dynasty of Babylon. The compiler has given an interesting note on the subject of comparative chronology at the end of the tablet, "82 kings of Assyria, from Erishu the son of Ilushumma to Ashurbanipal son of Esarhaddon; 98[27] kings of Akkad from Sumu-la-ilu to Kandalanu." He therefore considered Erishum I a contemporary of Sumu-la-ilu, the second king of the First or Amorite Dynasty. Bel-ibni he gave as a contemporary of Ishkibal, the third king of the Sea-Land Dynasty; his method of placing one king opposite another therefore started with Erishum and Sumu-la-ilu, save that one Assyrian king must have been placed against two Babylonians. No confidence could be felt in such a list were it not that the Assyrian scribe is supported by a Babylonian chronicler. On a tablet of the New Babylonian period which records the history of the dynasties of Agade and Ur (3), the chronicler has given a catch-line containing the opening words of the next tablet, "Ilushuma king of Assyria in the time of Su-abu."[28] Now this Su-abu can only be Sumu-abu the first king of the Amorite Dynasty, and Ilushuma can only be the father of Erishum I, since there is only one king Ilushuma known.[29] For the chronology of these early kings there are statements by their successors. Tukulti-Enurta I states[30] that 720 years passed between Ilushuma's building of the chapel of Ishtar of Ashur and his own rebuilding; Tukulti-Enurta's date being approximately

1250, Ilushuma is dated 1970. That allows 130 years for the seven rulers between Ilushuma and Shamshi-Adad I, which is a reasonable figure. Shalmaneser I says that 159 years passed between Erishum and Shamshi-Adad, Esarhaddon puts the same interval at 126 years; in the one case Erishum reigned before 2000, in the second about 1970. These discrepancies mean no more than that the figures cannot be relied upon for exactitude; the general inference, that Ilushuma and Erishum lived about 2000 B.C., with a not inconsiderable margin of error, cannot be avoided. Shalmaneser I's statement is the earliest.

According to the chronicle, Ilushuma was a contemporary of Sumu-abu; according to the synchronous list, Erishum and Sumu-la-ilu reigned about the same time. Were the second tablet of the chronicle extant we should know of some event in Ilushuma's reign, corresponding to the entry in his brick inscription, that he established the freedom of the Akkadians. An attempt has been made by a modern scholar to induce historians to abandon these synchronisms.[31] That attempt can only be described as ill-judged. If such facts be rejected, it were better not to attempt to write the history of these times. There is in fact no warrant for the method of discarding synchronisms.

The total of years assigned to the First Dynasty of Babylon in the rectified king-list is 300.[32] Assuming that the Kassite Dynasty seized the throne immediately after the last king of the First Dynasty fell during the Hittite raid, Sumu-abu began to reign about 2040, an approximate reckoning. Ilushuma is thereby dated to at least 2030. It is conceivable then that Ilushuma ruled from about 2030 to 2000 and Erishum from about 2000 to 1970. Yet the figures given by the Assyrian kings barely allow of these dates, and one expects such figures to be too high rather than too low. But to decrease those figures by any considerable amount causes considerable conflict with the evidence for the later period. These dates must stand provisionally, but it must be understood that they are not free from all suspicion of being too high by a decade or two. On the other hand, they are not likely to be too low.

If Sumu-abu ascended his self-made throne about 2040, Samsu-iluna reigned about 1895–1858, and Abi-eshu' about 1857–1830. Since Iluma-ilum reigned sixty years according to the king-list, a date about 1890–1830 or 1880–1820 accords very well with calculations on a different basis. It may therefore be that the king-list figures for the Sea-Land Dynasty, though obviously faulty in certain respects, especially in regard to the reign of Itti-ilu-nibi, are not altogether wrong so far as

the total is concerned. Possibly the order has been muddled in transmission. The coincidence in the dating is too startling to be passed over.

The corrections provided by the date-lists for the whole period from the commencement of the Third Dynasty of Ur down to the First Dynasty enable us to be more certain about the exact chronology of this period than of any time in the second millennium. Accepting the general conclusion of modern scholars that Rim-Sin captured Isin and ended the dynasty there in his twenty-fifth year, and that Hammurabi conquered Larsa in his thirty-fifth year, an exact scheme can be drawn up for the dynasties of Isin and Larsa subject only to the same error as the dates of the First Dynasty. The Third Dynasty of Ur period is subject to a rather greater error, because it is uncertain whether some of the years attributed to Ibi-Sin may not also be counted in the reign of Ishbi-Irra: it is known that the two were contemporary, but it does not necessarily follow that their years of reign have been reckoned twice over. With the dating of the beginning of the Third Ur Dynasty the earliest date with only a small margin of error is reached. Before that period, there is no means of checking the figures in the king-lists, and since these can be proved to contain numerous errors for the Third Dynasty of Ur, it is impossible to feel any confidence in them for the earlier time. They are, however, all that we have, and are useful if exactitude is not expected.

In the rough approximations used in the present book a certain number of assumptions depend upon an interpretation of the historical documents available. Ur-Nammu is known to have been a contemporary of Utu-ḫegal, and Utu-ḫegal of Tirigan; in the present writer's opinion some years of Ur-Nammu's reign were really years in which he acknowledged the suzerainty of Erech. For the complicated period at the end of the Agade Dynasty, the entry "Who was king, who was not king" is taken to mark the period when the Gutians obtained some kind of pre-eminence in Babylonia; that reduces the Fourth Dynasty of Erech to contemporaries of the Gutian kings, who were able to maintain themselves independently in the south. The synchronism of Agade, Third Dynasty of Erech and Fourth Dynasty of Kish, seems to the present writer certain, though it is not accepted by some authorities. Sargon and Lugalzaggisi are known to have been contemporaries, and Sargon was the cup-bearer of Ur-Ilbaba. The almost legendary Ku-Bau may be assumed to have lived at the time of the Akshak (Opis) dynasty on the evidence of the king-lists themselves.

The amount of error in the figures assigned to these dynasties it is hard to assess. Roundly, fifty years is perhaps reasonable. In every case the effort has been made to give a date that is not likely to be much more than a quarter of a century too high. In certain cases the date may be half a century too low. The chronology of the early period before the Dynasty of Opis really depends upon archaeological evidence and is discussed in the opening chapters of this book.

The view of Assyrian-Babylonian chronology outlined above is not accepted by all modern scholars, and there are statements of the Babylonians which cannot be made to agree with it. To examine the latter first, the statements of Nabonidus concerning earlier kings must be considered totally erroneous. Nabonidus dated Hammurabi about 2080 B.C., and Naram-Sin about 3750 B.C., as has been shown in previous volumes. Every one now admits that the second date cannot possibly stand; some would cling to the Hammurabi date, partly because it seems to be confirmed by the interval of 696 years assigned to the interval between Gulkishar and Nebuchadrezzar I in another text. For Nebuchadrezzar was a contemporary of Ashur-resh-ishi, who reigned about 1115–1100; thus Gulkishar would be dated about 1810 or earlier, and Iluma-ilum, the contemporary of Samsu-iluna, would belong to about 2000 onwards or earlier. The historical view of Nabonidus has now sufficiently changed to allow of a reasonable explanation of his high figures. He was engaged in a difficult attempt to change Babylonian religious practices, and sought to prove that the changes were in accord with the practice of remote antiquity. His figures were not the result of antiquarian zeal but were intended for political propaganda. The statement of the text dealing with a temple endowment is more difficult to explain. According to the chronology outlined above, the scribe should not have said "one *ner* (600), one soss (60), thirty-six," but something like "one *ner* less thirty-six." Whatever the true explanation of the statement may be, it is insufficient evidence, even when combined with the Nabonidus dates, seriously to be urged against the line of argument previously followed.

One other point deserves mention. Ashurbanipal's inscriptions relate that when the Assyrians captured Susa in 647 B.C. the image of the goddess Nanâ was recovered; this had been carried off from Erech 1635 years before by the Elamite king Kudur-Nanḫundi (Kutur-Naḫḫunte). This capture of Erech by the Elamites in 2282 B.C. has frequently been connected with the circumstances of the fall of Ibi-Sin, and scholars used to see in this date a confirmation of the early

dating adopted. It was never very sound ground; for there is a variant which gives 1535 for 1635. Some would argue that the two different writings of the number 1635 ($1000+600+30+1$ and $2\times600+7\times60+15$) prove that this, not 1535, is correct;[33] but the two writings may derive from a single source and have no more weight than 1535. In any case the association with the end of the Third Ur Dynasty is no more than assumption. For it is possible that Utu-ḫegal fell owing to such a raid from Elam; and the date 2282 B.C. might well be correct for the end of his reign. It is useless to consider this Ashurbanipal date an argument for or against any chronological scheme until the place of this event is historically fixed.

A different question has been raised by evidence of quite another kind. In the second volume of this history a full explanation of certain astronomical calculations made by Father Kugler has been already given. Those calculations have not been maintained even by the learned Father, and he has since declared in favour of dating the sixth year of Ammizaduga 1796–5.[34] Other authorities differ again, and by means of abstruse and complicated calculations date the same year as 1916–15.[35] The one reckoning would place the Amorite Dynasty at 2049–1750, the other at 2170–1871. All the questions involved in these astronomical discussions seem to require endless calculations as to the angle of vision at Babylon, the apparent acceleration of the Sun, and other matters. An attempt has been made to support the choice of one of the astronomical dates apparently possible by calculations concerning the date harvest, based upon too rigid a fixation of that event. Were all the astronomical authorities agreed, and were the calculations less complicated, the historian would gladly accept such precise information, even at the cost of forsaking his authorities. But unanimity cannot be said to exist, and in one very important point, the accuracy of the Babylonian calendar, unjustifiable assumptions seem to have been made. Until, then, it is astronomically proven beyond doubt that Ammizaduga's sixth year cannot have fallen between 1810 and 1760, it is not safe for those uninstructed in these calculations to disregard the evidence of the ancient sources which are followed in the present volume. If the astronomical authorities finally agree that the Amorite Dynasty ruled from 2170–1871, then the evidence of the late chroniclers not only concerning the Amorite Dynasty but also the previous period, so far as synchronisms are concerned, must be abandoned as worthless, and the historian's task will be almost impossible.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

The figures in brackets following the reference figures denote the pages of the text on which the reference figures occur. Thus [1] (5) *denotes the first reference on p.* 5.

THESE notes are not intended to be complete; they are intended as references to authorities on particular points, where other literature will generally be found mentioned. The general bibliographies given in the first three volumes of *Cambridge Ancient History* should be consulted. To those the following general works must now be added:

Bilabel, F. *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens vom* 16–11 *Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Heidelberg, 1927.)

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Weber, W. *Die Staatenwelt des Mittelmeers in der Frühzeit des Griechentums.* (Stuttgart, 1925.)

There are various articles in Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte,* which could not be used for the present notes.

The following abbreviations are used:

A.J.S.L.	American Journal of Semitic Languages.
C.A.H.	Cambridge Ancient History.
J.A.O.S.	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
J.E.A.	Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.
J.R.A.S.	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
M.D.O.G.	Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
O.L.Z.	Orientalistische Literaturzeitung.
P.S.B.A.	Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology.
R.A.	Revue d'Assyriologie.
Z.A.	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
Z.D.M.G.	Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

CHAPTER I

A good general description of the geographical area of Assyria may be found in *Question of the Frontier between Turkey and Iraq* (League of Nations); also in *Mesopotamia*, no. 63 of the *Handbooks prepared under the direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office* (London: H.M. Stationery Office), 1920.

[1] (5) Palaeolithic implements in Syria, de Morgan, *Préhistoire Orientale*, I, pp. 124, 143–4, 151; Dudley Buxton, in *Man*, XXVI, no. 29.

[2] (5) Galilee skull, Turville Petre, *Excavations of two palaeolithic caves in Galilee* in *British School of Archaeology at Jerusalem: Bulletin no.* 7 (London), 1925.

[3] (5) Painted pottery. King, *Sumer and Akkad*, App. I; idem, *The prehistoric cemetery at Shamiram-alti* in P.S.B.A., 1912; Frankfort, *Studies in early pottery of the Near East*, vols. I and II (Royal Anthropological Institute), 1924–7, gives references to previous literature; Hall, *Notes on the excavations of* 1919 *at Muqayyar, el-'Obeid and Abu Shahrein* in *Centenary Supplement to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, October, 1924; Hall, Woolley, Gadd and Keith, *Ur Excavations*, I, *Al 'Ubaid* (British Museum), 1927; Albright, *Proto-Mesopotamian Painted Ware from the Balikh Valley* in *Man*, XXVI, no. 25; Mackay, *Report on the excavation of the 'A' Cemetery at Kish* (Field Museum, Chicago), 1926; there is unpublished material from Freiherr von Oppenheim's excavations at Tall Ḥalaf in Berlin and at the British Museum, only the sculptures are described by the excavator in *Der Tell Halaf und die verschleierte Göttin* (*Alte Orient*, 1908). Professor Herzfeld and others have brought back painted pottery from the Persian border of Iraq which appears to take its place between Susa I and Susa II, whatever be the exact sequence of those two. Frankfort postulates a complete severance: the two overlap probably at Susa as elsewhere. See Pottier in *Revue archéologique*, 1926, pp. 1–39, and *Catalogue des Antiquités de la Susiane* (1926).

CHAPTER II

[1] (10) Excavations. Kish—de Genouillac, *Premières recherches archéologiques à Kich* (Paris), 1924; Langdon, *Excavations at Kish*, vol. I (Oxford), 1924; Mackay, op. cit. Shuruppak—M.D.O.G. nos. 15–17. Nippur—Fisher, *Excavations at Nippur* (Philadelphia), 1905; Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands* (Edinburgh), 1903; texts in the volumes of *The Babylonian Expedition*, and *Publications of the Babylonian Section* (Philadelphia: the University of Pennsylvania Museum); articles in *The Museum Journal* by Legrain. Adab—Banks, *Bismya or the lost city of Adab* (New York), 1912. Ur—Taylor, *Reports* in J.R.A.S. 1854, pp. 260 ff., and 1855, pp. 104 ff.; Campbell Thompson, *Report* in *Archaeologia*, LXX; Hall, in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Dec. 4th, 1919; idem, *Discoveries at Tell el Obeid* in J.E.A. VIII; idem, *Ur and Eridu*

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[2] (11) Sumerian language. On Chinese affinities of writing, C. J. Ball, *Chinese and Sumerian* (London), 1913; Ungnad, *Sumerische und chinesische Schrift* in Z.D.M.G. (N.F.), VI, p. xliii. As a Caucasian language, Bork, *Das Sumerische eine kaukasische Sprache* in O.L.Z. XXVII, 169 ff.; but see Tseretheli, *Sumerian and Georgian* in J.R.A.S. 1913, pp. 783 ff., 1914, pp. 1 ff., 1915, pp. 255 ff., 1916, pp. 1 ff. Sumerian connected with Bantu by Kluge (Theodor), *Versuch einer Beantwortung der Frage; Welcher Sprachengruppe ist das Sumerische anzugliedern?* (Leipzig), 1921. Sumerian and Turkish, Hommel, *Hundert sumero-türkische Wortgleichungen als Grundlage zu einem neuen Kapitel der Sprachwissenschaft*, in *Innsbrücker Jahrbuch für Volkerkunde und Sprachwissenschaft*, vol. I, 1926. Even Indo-European connection is claimed, in Autran, *Sumérien et Indo-Européen* (Paris), 1926.

[3] (11) Sumerian physical type. Dudley Buxton in Langdon, *Kish*, I; Sir A. Keith in *Excavations at al 'Ubaid*.

[4] (11) Pictographic tablet in Langdon, *Kish*, I, plate XXXI. See Gadd in *Al 'Ubaid*, p. 135, note 5. Wheeled vehicles on early monuments; "Stele of Vultures" in *Découvertes*, plate 3 bis, and King, *Sumer and Akkad*, opp. p. 124; relief from Ur, *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. VIII, no. 1.

[5] (12) Elamite writing, V. Scheil, *Textes de Comptabilité Proto-Elamites* (*Mission Archéologique de Perse*, tome XVII); Langdon in J.R.A.S., 1925, pp. 169 ff.

[6] (13) Linear writing from Shuruppak: Deimel, *Liste der archäischen Keilschriftzeichen aus Fara*; idem, *Schultexte aus Fara*; idem, *Wirtschaftstexte aus Fara*.

[7] (14) Figure in Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, *Tillaeg til Billedtavler af Antike Kunstvaerker*, 1915, plate XIV, 836c.

CHAPTER III

[1] (19) Berosus. Schnabel, *Berossos und die Babylonisch-Hellenistiche Literatur* (Leipzig), 1923.

[2] (19) Predynastic lists. From Larsa, Langdon, *The Weld-Blundell Collection*, vol. II (*Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, vol. II), 1923. From Nippur, Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*. For critical literature see King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt* (British Academy), 1918; Burrows in *Orientalia*, VII (Rome); Langdon, op. cit.; Zimmern in Z.D.M.G. (N.F.), III; Dhorme, *L'Aurore de l'histoire Babylonienne* in *Revue Biblique*, 1926, con-

siders Enmenluanna and Enmengalanna a false dichotomy of a single name, Enmenlugalanna; Meyer, *Die ältere Chronologie Babyloniens und Aegyptens*, has taken no account of Langdon's publication but depends entirely on Zimmern; Boissier, *Patriarches et Rois Antédiluviens* in *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* (Lausanne), 1927, pp. 3–11.—For the text concerning Enmeduranki and the seers see Frank, *Studien zur babylonischen Religion*, I, 128 ff.

[3] (23) "Seven Wise Ones." See Zimmern in Z.A. (N.F.), I, 150 ff.; Woolley, *Babylonian Prophylactic Figures* in J.R.A.S. 1926, pp. 689 ff.

[4] (24) Origin of antediluvian cities. See Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, plate i, p. 51; King, *Legends*, p. 58. Identity of Pabilḫursag and Pabilsag proved by comparison with Legrain, *Historical Fragments*, no. 44.

[5] (25) The state of man after creation. Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts* (Crozier Theological Seminary), no. 25, p. 29.

CHAPTER IV

[1] (28) Flood Story. "Atraḫasis" in Clay, *Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform* (Yale Oriental Series, V, no. 3); version of same by Luckenbill in A.J.S.L. XXXIX, notes by Albright in A.J.S.L. XL, p. 34, and Smith in R.A. XXII, pp. 67–8; the Hilprecht fragment now in Clay, op. cit.; the Sumerian version in Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, no. 1, and pp. 14 ff., King, *Legends*, and Gadd, *Sumerian Reading Book*, no. XVI; Gilgamesh Epic, Tablet XI. Ashurnaṣirpal III at Mt. Niṣir, Annals, col. II, l. 34.

[2] (28) Dynastic lists. Texts from Nippur, Poebel, *Historical Texts*, nos. 2–5, and Legrain, *Historical Fragments*, nos. 1 and 2; from Kish, Gadd, *Early Dynasties of Sumer and Akkad* (B.M. 108857); from Larsa, Langdon, *Weld-Blundell Collection*, II (W.B. 1923, 444). The New Babylonian chronicle in King, *Chronicles concerning early Babylonian Kings*, vol. II, no. V. Discussions by Poebel, op. cit., King, *Legends*, Scheil in *Comptes Rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1911, pp. 606 ff., and R.A. IX, p. 69; Thureau-Dangin, *La Chronologie des dynasties de Sumer et d'Accad*; Legrain, op. cit.; Gadd, op. cit.; Poebel in Z.A. XXXIV, 36 ff.; Ungnad in Z.A. XXXIV, 1 ff.; Clay, *Antiquity of Babylonian Civilisation* in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XLI, pp. 241–63; Langdon, op. cit.; Meyer, *Die ältere Chronologie*.

[3] (31) Etana. See Jensen, *Mythen und Epen*, and Clay, *Hebrew Deluge Story*. For the view that the Etana story contains historical facts symbolised, see Clay, op. cit., and idem, *The Empire of the Amorites*.

[4] (33) Enmerkar. The text of the myth in Langdon, *Weld-Blundell Collection*, I, no. 1 (W.B. 162); for the connection with the Zu legend, Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts*, nos. 33–5 (p. 34).

On the myth as a theme in art see Gadd in *Ur Excavations*, I, *Al 'Ubaid*, p. 97, note 3.

[5] (33) Tammuz in god-lists. See Deimel, *Pantheon Babylonicum*, sub voce.

[6] (34) *Ā*. Förtsch in O.L.Z. XVIII, 367 ff.; King, *Legends*, p. 35. On Lilu, Lillu, see Thureau-Dangin, *La Passion du dieu Lillu* in R.A. XIX, pp. 175 ff.

[7] (34) Anam's inscription in Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, pp. 222–3.

[8] (34) Aelian, *De Natura Animalium*, XII, 21. Possibly derived from a confusion of the Gilgamesh, Etana and Enmerkar legends. On the connection with the first see Langdon, *Weld-Blundell Collection*, vol. II, p. 12, note 3.

[9] (35) Gilgamesh Epic as astral myth and the origin of Hebrew history and Greek epics see Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos in der Weltliteratur* (Strassburg), 1906; idem, several articles in Z.A., et aliter; as symbolised history, Clay, *Hebrew Deluge Story*.

[10] (35) Ḫumbaba as demon of volcano, Sidney Smith, *Face of Ḫumbaba* in *Liverpool Annals of Anthropology and Archaeology*, XI, pp. 107 ff.; idem, *Face of Ḫumbaba* in J.R.A.S., 1926, pp. 440 ff.; otherwise Thureau-Dangin, *Ḫumbaba* in R.A. XXII, pp. 23 ff.

[11] (36) The building Tummal. Texts, Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, nos. 6 and 7; Legrain, *Historical Fragments*, no. 48; see Poebel, in O.L.Z. XXVI, 263, who would read Ibmal. For A-anni-padda = Annani, Nanni, see Gadd in *Studia Orientalia* (Festschrift, Tallquist), Helsingfors, 1925.

[12] (37) Lugal-anni-mundu. Text, Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, no. 75; see Gadd in R.A. XXIII, p. 68, note 1.

[13] (39) Overthrow of Ur by Lagash dated to end of First Dynasty of Ur by Gadd in *Excavations at al 'Ubaid*, pp. 139–140; this involves the assumption that 200 years elapsed between Eannatum and Urukagina at Lagash, which appears to me improbable. The view held in 1923 by Mr. Gadd and myself that the Entemena statue could not be used to prove a Lagash domination, expressed by Woolley, *Antiquaries Journal*, III, p. 331, and adopted by Meissner, *Könige*, p. 19, is correct: the domination is proved by other Lagash inscriptions, see *Al 'Ubaid*, p. 138.

[14] (41) Archaic statue from Mari in King, *Sumer and Akkad*, plate opp. p. 102; reading of name doubtful, see King, *Cuneiform Texts*, I (B.M. 12146). Albright has urged the not impossible view that there are two towns called Mari, one east of Tigris, the other on the Euphrates. The latter he places in the neighbourhood of Dair az-Zūr, an unlikely situation for the western Mari. Though the passage used by Albright to prove this does not really support his argument, the conclusion may be in part correct. See Z.A. (N.F.) II, p. 312; A.J.S.L. XLI, pp. 282 ff; J.A.O.S., XLV, 225 ff.

[15] (42) Legend of the god Martu (Amurru), Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts*, pp. 15 ff.; Ebeling, *Ein amoritischer Schöpfungsmythus* in *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (N.F.) II, 137–8.—The mountain of Amurru, *šad Amurre* in the geographical list, II R. 50, cols. III–IV; see Weissbach in Z.D.M.G. LIII, p. 656.

[16] (43) Sumerian gods of Semitic origin, argued by Meyer, *Sumerer und Semiten.*

[17] (44) Martu east of Tigris, argued by Landsberger, in Z.A. (N.F.) I, pp. 217 ff.; Theo Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer.* The principal argument relied upon is the view of Weidner, *Könige von Assyrien*, p. 43, that since Kudur-Mabug calls himself AD.DA of Martu and AD.DA of Emutbal, there must have been a land Martu identical with or near to Emutbal; this argument has clearly no value, see Schnabel in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1926, p. 51.

CHAPTER V

[1] (45) *iššaku*, "tenant-farmer." See Thureau-Dangin, *Correspondance de Hammurapi avec Šamaš-ḥaṣir*, p. 2, in R.A. XXI; Sidney Smith in J.R.A.S. 1927, p. 569.

[2] (46) Choice by augury, see dates in Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Konigsinschriften* which mention the selection of priests by "signs" (on the liver).

[3] (49) Relations with India. Seals from India published by J. F. Fleet in J.R.A.S. 1912, pp. 699 ff.; a Babylonian seal said to have been found at Herat in *Journal of the Bengal Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. II, part 1, opp. p. 321; further seals from India published by Sir John Marshall in *Cambridge History of India*, I, plate XI, nos. 22–3; results of excavations published by Sir John Marshall in *Illustrated London News*, Sept. 20th, 1924; Feb. 27th, 1926; March 6th, 1926. Babylonian similarities pointed out by Sayce, *Illustrated London News*, Sept. 27th, 1924; illustrated by Smith and Gadd, ibid., Oct. 4th, 1924. Indian seals or impressions found in Mesopotamia, E. Mackay, *Sumerian connexions with ancient India* in J.R.A.S. 1925; Scheil, *Un nouveau sceau hindou pseudo-sumérien* in R.A. XXII, pp. 55 ff; Thureau-Dangin, *Sceaux de Tello et Sceaux de Harappa* in R.A. XXII, p. 99, publishes a seal from Tall Loh and remarks on some seals of a different type (circular, not rectangular) with the Indian writing, published in Delaporte, *Cylindres Orientaux du Louvre*, Plate II 8*b* (Tall Loh) and Plate XXV, 15 (Susa). Professor Herzfeld has informed me that he has an Indian seal from Mesopotamia in his collection. Discussions by S. Chatterji, *Dravidian Origins* in *Modern Review* (Calcutta), December, 1924; Weidner in *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*, II, 140; Hall, *Archaeology, Western Asia* in *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (13th ed.; new volumes): H. von Glasenapp, *Brahma und Buddha* (Berlin, Deutsche Buch-Gemeinschaft); Printz, in Z.D.M.G. (N.F.) V, p. 349, says "ich halte es für verfrüht, die neuentdeckte Indus-Kultur mit den Sumerern zu verknüpfen; die von C. J. Gadd und Sidney Smith in den *London Illustrated News* vom 4.10.1924 behaupteten Übereinstimmungen, epigraphische wie archäologische, entbehren jeder Überzeugungskraft," thus misrepresenting the argument of Gadd and Smith, loc. cit., who only stated that the resemblances showed connections, and never mentioned "Übereinstimmungen"; idem, in Z.D.M.G.

(N.F.) VI, p. 90, stigmatises "die neueste Mode, Sumerer und Draviden in einen Topf zu werfen" as uncritical. A racial connection of Sumerians and Davidians was first suggested by Hall, *Ancient History of Near East*, p. 173, and is mentioned, with different inferences, by Rapson in *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 43. The pottery from Sistan in Sir Aurel Stein's collection. On the hoard from Astrabad see Rostovtzeff in J.E.A. VI, pp. 4–27; idem, *Iranians and Greeks* in South Russia.

[4] (52) Egyptian Connections. Egyptian, Sumerian and "Semite" from same stock, Elliot Smith, *Ancient Egyptians*, and Perry, *Children of the Sun;* Elam as origin of common elements, J. de Morgan, *Recherches sur les origines de l'Egypte*, and *Premières Civilisations* (especially pp. 214–5); presence of Sumerians in Egypt, Langdon, *Early Chronology of Sumer and Egypt* in J.E.A. VII, and in *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, 462. Argument from boats in Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery*, I, pp. 138 ff. Boreux, *Études de nautique égyptienne* derives a type of boat from the Far East, with reason. See Glanville in J.E.A., XIII, p. 123. Knife from Jabal al 'Arak published by Bénédite in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1914, and *Le Couteau de Gebel el-'Arak* in *Monuments et Mémoires* (Fondation Eugène Piot), 1916, discussed, with other similar objects by Bénédite in J.E.A. V; see also Hall, in J.E.A. VIII, 252; and Langdon, loc. cit. Potmarks, Langdon, loc. cit.

[5] (54) Stamp seals due to North Syrian—Anatolian influence argued by Frankfort, *Studies in Early Pottery*, p. 73, though Hogarth, in J.E.A. VIII, p. 212, Contenau, *Glyttique Syro-Hittite*, had already stated the facts. The earliest stamp seals in Western Asia are Sumerian, and the type was borrowed in Syria.

[6] (55) Alabaster and aragonite pots from Egypt. See Woolley, *Antiquaries Journal*, III, 333; otherwise Petrie in *Ancient Egypt*, 1926, p. 103.

[7] (56) For a study of copper weapons in Asia and Egypt see H. Bonnet, *Die Waffen der Völker des alten Orients* (Leipzig), 1926; de Morgan, *Préhistoire Orientale*, p. 179.

[8] (56) For Egypt and Elam as places of origin see note 4: for Syria, Hall, in *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, p. 264. Frankfort, *Studies*, vol. II, argues that the Caucasus is the place of origin.

[9] (58) The phalanx on Stele of Vultures, *Découvertes*, plate 3, bis; King, *Sumer and Akkad*, opp. p. 124; chariot on bas-relief from Ur, Woolley in *Antiquaries Journal*, 1927; chariot and armour, Stele of Vultures.

[10] (58) The view that the early Sumerians did not use the bow and arrow now commonly held, King, *Sumer and Akkad*, p. 286; Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, 2, § 368; Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 181, and used for archaeological argument by Frankfort, *Studies*, p. 86, is based on the absence of the weapon on the Stele of Vultures, but is erroneous. Excavations have provided an endless quantity of arrow-heads of the early Sumerian period, and the bow appears on very early seals, Langdon, *Kish*, I, Plate XXI, no. 1a, and p. 79; Legrain, *Culture of the Babylonians*, no. 71.

CHAPTER VI

[1] (61) Excavations of early Sumerian period remains at city of Ashur reported in M.D.O.G.; full account in Andrae, *Die archaischen Ischtar-Tempel in Assur* (Leipzig).

[2] (62) For attempts to elucidate the method of putting on the early Sumerian dress, see Andrae, op. cit., pp. 12 ff., and Heuzey, *Costume chaldéen et costume assyrien*, in R.A. XXII, pp. 163 ff. Neither is convincing. Langdon, in *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, 364, argues that the garment was called *guannaku* which became *καυνάκης*, the Persian garment mocked at in Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1137; but there is no proof that the Persians wore a garment at all resembling the early Sumerian dress in the fifth century B.C.

[3] (63) Figure from Istabulat, Langdon, *Sumerian Origins and Racial Characteristics* in *Archaeologia*, LXX. Figure from Persian border, published in *British Museum Quarterly*, no. 2, 1926, plate XIX.

[4] (64) Boomerang. In R.A. XXI, p. 142, Thureau-Dangin argues in favour of this view, translating *tilpanu sahirtu*, "le bâton de jet qui fait retour . . . c'est à dire le boumerang." But on seals this bent weapon is represented as a cutting weapon. Note also the curious copper pieces in Mackay, *Report on 'A' cemetery*, plate XVII, which may belong to such weapons. Christian in W.Z.K.M. 1927, p. 145, calls these thin copper strips "Hiebbumerang (Sichelkeulen)," without explaining their use.

[5] (64) Stele of Naram-Sin, see *Délégation en Perse*, tome I, Plate X, King, *Sumer and Akkad;* rock-sculpture at Darband-i-Gawr, see Edmonds, *Two Ancient Monuments in Kurdistan* in *Geographical Journal*, LXV, no. I, pp. 63–4, with plate.

[6] (68) Terra-cotta houses from Baisān published by Alan Rowe in *The Times* (London), Tuesday, Nov. 17th, 1925. Dr. Contenau, *Les Tablettes de Kerkouk et les Origines de la Civilisation Assyrienne*, pp. 31–2, holds that the terra-cotta stands from Ashur are in the form not of houses but of chairs, and would distinguish the objects from Baisān from them.

[7] (69) Anthropomorphic pot from Troy, Forsdyke, *Catalogue of Aegean Pottery*, plate II, A, 68: vases from Kish with goddess faces on handles, Mackay, *Report*, Plates I–II.

[8] (70) Ashur as early Sumerian settlement, King, *History of Babylon*, pp. 137 ff.: theory of migration, Langdon in *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, p. 361.

[9] (70) Subartu = Assyria, see Campbell Thompson, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*, no. 62; Nabopolassar, no. 1, vol. I, l. 29, and no. 3, col. II, l. 1 in Langdon, *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*. Bilabel, *Geschichte*, I, pp. 250–1, appears to deny that there was any Subaraean people—wrongly. *Shubaru* is an ethnic, *mat Shubari* means the land of the Subaraeans, and Subartu alone (or Subir) is the geographical term.

[10] (71) Kashtiliash's reference to war with Shubartu on the *Kudurru*, published by Scheil, *Délégation en Perse*, II, pp. 93–4.

[11] (71) Tushratta's letter in Subaraean transliterated by Knudtzon in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, IV, 134–53, with notes in Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*, no. 24; translation attempted, Messerschmidt, *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1899; by Bork, ibid., 1909: commented on by Hannes Skoeld in J.R.A.S. 1926, pp. 667 ff.

[12] (71) "Proto-Hittite," "Hittite," "Luvian," "Ḫurri." On these languages see Forrer, M.D.O.G. no. 61, and his articles, *Die acht Sprachen der Boghazköi-Inschriften*, in *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1919, LIII, 1029–41, and *Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Ḫatti-Reiches*, Z.D.M.G. LXXVI; Hrozný, *Über die Völker und Sprachen des alten Chattilandes* (Boghazköi Studien V). On the close relation of Subaraean and Ḫurri, see Ungnad, *Das hurritische Fragment des Gilgamesch-Epos* in Z.A. (N.F.) I, 133 ff., where reason is given for reading Ḫurri rather than Ḫarri.

[13] (72) Kirkūk tablets. The first was published by Pinches in *Cuneiform Texts*, part II, plate 21; a bibliography and examination of material up to 1909 may be found in Ungnad, *Urkunden aus Dilbat*, pp. 8 ff.; Scheil, *Tablettes de Kerkouk* in R.A. XV; Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions de l'Asie Antérieure*, nos. 309–310; Contenau, *Contrats et Lettres* (Musée du Louvre, IX), nos. 1–46; Gadd, *Tablets from Kirkuk* in R.A. XXIII. Discussions by Bork, in O.L.Z. 1906, 588 ff., Gustavs, in O.L.Z. 1912, and his articles in Z.A. (N.F.) II, pp. 80 ff., pp. 297 ff. On excavations at Kirkuk see Barton in *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, April, 1925: Chiera and Speiser, *A new factor in the history of the Ancient East* in *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, vol. VI, pp. 75–90; idem, *Selected "Kirkuk" Documents* in J.A.O.S. 1927, pp. 36–60. There is a full account of the seals and seal impressions so far as published by Contenau, *Les tablettes de Kerkouk et les origines de la civilisation assyrienne* in *Babyloniaca*, vol. IX, pp. 69–151, also published separately.

[14] (72) Fair-complexioned slave, from Subartu, Peiser, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, IV, p. 44, from Gutium, Meissner, *Beiträge zur altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, no 4 = Kohler and Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, III, no. 191 = Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil und Prozessrechts*, no. 105.

[15] (73) Extent of Subaraean population. On the nature and importance of the Subaraeans see Ungnad, *Die ältesten Völkerwanderungen Vorderasiens* (Kulturfragen I, Breslau), 1923. Landsberger, *Über die Völker Vorderasiens* in Z.A. (N.F.) I, 228 ff., has attempted to limit Subartu to the land east of Tigris in the third millennium B.C., and thereby assumes a Subaraean invasion of the west, neglecting the evidence of Assyrian historical inscriptions: a Subaraean invasion of the west in the second millennium is almost impossible. See also Gadd in R.A., XXIII, pp. 66–71. Landsberger's theory is disproved by a new text copied from an inscription of Naram-Sin at Ur which shows that Subartu could be used of Mesopotamia.

[16] (74) The walls of Ashur in early times. See Andrae, *Festungswerke*.

CHAPTER VII

[1] (78) Statue of the second period. Andrae, *Die archäischen Ischtar-Tempel*, Tafeln 38, 39, 28a, p. 68, no. 80.

[2] (80) The revolt of Sargon from Ur-Ilbaba is mentioned in an unpublished chronicle found by E. F. Weidner at Berlin, see Langdon, *Weld-Blundell Collection*, II, 3.

[3] (80) Lugal-zaggisi's inscriptions in Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften.*

[4] (81) Sargon as myth, Winckler, *Geschichte*, 1892, and *Forschungen*, I: as conflation of Sharrukin and Shar-gali-sharri, King, *Sumer and Akkad:* as the centre of unhistorical saga, Landsberger in Z.A. (N.F.) I, p. 215.

[5] (81) Sargon texts. Contemporary inscriptions in Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften;* Poebel, *Historical Texts*, no. 34, joins text published by Legrain in *Museum Journal* (Philadelphia: University Museum), 1923, p. 208. "Sargon Legend," text published by King, *Cuneiform Texts*, part XIII, plates 42–3, translation in *First Steps in Assyrian.* New Babylonian Chronicle and Omen Texts in King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings;* other omens in Clay, *Pierpont Morgan*, IV, no. 13, and on "the face of Humbaba" published by Sidney Smith in *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XI. For the "King of the Battle" text, see Weidner, *Sargon's Zug nach Kleinasien.* Albright, *The epic of the King of Battle: Sargon of Accad in Cappadocia* in *Journal of the Society for Oriental Research*, vol. VII, pp. 1–20: Dhorme, *La tablette de Sargon l'Ancien* in *Revue Biblique*, XXXIII, pp. 19–32. The Map of the World with a text concerning Sargon is published by Campbell Thompson, *Cuneiform Texts*, part XXII, briefly treated by Weidner, loc. cit. Geographical text with list of Sargon's conquests published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexten aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, no. 92; the text is translated, with drastic emendations and additions by Albright in *Journal of American Oriental Society*, XLV, 193–245, with a geographical interpretation of doubtful value. The comparison of the cup-bearer Sargon with the legend of Cyrus in Nicolaus Damascenus was first noted by Gadd, *Early Dynasties.* For a different, but equally possible, explanation of the name Akki, see Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, p. 231.—'Legend of Naram-Sin' published by King, *Cuneiform Texts*, part XIII, plate 44. Hittite version of Naram-Sin's exploits in Forrer, *Die Boghazköi Texte in Umschrift*, Heft. II, no. 3. New Babylonian text concerning the revolt against Naram-Sin published by Boissier, R.A. XVI, 162 ff. Diarbakr stele in King, *Sumer and Akkad*, p. 245. The cylinder seal from Cyprus proves nothing, see King, *Sumer and Akkad*, p. 343; a passage misquoted and misrepresented by Meissner, *Könige*, p. 289.

[6] (92) Yarmuti has been identified by Langdon, following Albright, as the Plain of Sharon and the Shephelah, in J.E.A. VII, 139. King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt*, p. 9, followed Sayce in J.E.A.

VI, 296, in locating it in the north near Arsus. The northern location is more probable from the connection with Ibla, certainly in Syria, and this does not actually conflict with the 'Amarnah letters, so long as the place be just south of Byblos.

[7] (96) Pamba. See Gadd in R.A. XXIII, pp. 82b and 67.

[8] (100) Utu-ḫegal. Inscription published by Thureau-Dangin, *La Fin de la domination Gutienne* in R.A. IX, p. 111 ff., and a duplicate in R.A. X, p. 98; Witzel's attempt at translation in *Babyloniaca*, VII; a further inscription published by Gadd in J.R.A.S. 1926, p. 684. See also *Inscriptions from Ur*, nos. 30, 31, which prove that Ur-Nammu was originally a vassal of Utu-ḫegal, pointed out by Woolley, *Antiquaries Journal*, V, 371.

CHAPTER VIII

[1] (101) Ashir, "the beneficent," L. W. King in King and Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia*, p. 393; Kretschmer, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXXIII, pp. 15 ff., argues that the conception of Ashur influenced Iranian conceptions of Asura-Ahura.—On renderings of the name, see Nöldeke, *Über den Namen Assyriens* in Z.A. I, pp. 268 ff.—Meissner would read the writing *A-šir* as *A-šur*, see Ebeling, Meissner and Weidner, *Inschriften der Altassyrischen Könige*, 3[9]: this is at present a needless guess.—The writing ERI.ŠAG.ERI is supposed by Meissner, op. cit., p. 33[11], to mean "Innenstadt" as opposed to *alu eššu*, the new quarter. The texts nowhere oppose ERI.ŠAG.ERI to *alu eššu* in this way, and the ideogram always refers to the city in general.

[2] (105, 108) Assyria a Babylonian colony: so e.g. Rogers, *History of Babylonia and Assyria* (6th ed.), II, 133. Lewy, *Studien zu den altassyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien* argues against Weidner, *Zug Sargon's nach Kleinasien*, that Ashur was not founded from Babylon, but that Assyrians and Akkadians were distinct, and that Assyria was not colonised from Babylon.—Assyrians as Semitized Subaraeans, Meyer, *Geschichte*, I, 2, § 395, Ungnad, *Die ältesten Volkerwanderungen Vorderasiens*.—Assyrians from Arabia, most recently argued by Olmstead, *History of Assyria*. The theory of origin of all Semitic-speaking peoples in the Arabian peninsula recently contested by Clay, *Empire of the Amorites*, etc., and by Ungnad, op. cit. For an extreme view of the desert origin of "Semites" see Myres, *Dawn of History*, and King, *History of Babylon*, Chap. IV.—"The mountain of Amurru" equated with "the land of Assyria" in Schroeder, *Keilschriftexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, no. 138, obverse 7.

[3] (107) Legal penalties in late contracts a fossilized form of early Assyrian law, see Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, III, pp. 336 ff. For the view that Assyrian law derives from Babylonian see Kohler in Kohler and Ungnad, *Assyrische Rechtsurkunden*.

[4] (112) Ungnad, *Urkunden aus Dilbat* in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, VI, argued that Ushpia and Kikia were "Mitanni" names. He has since noted that the language is Subaraean in *Die ältesten Volker-*

wanderungen. On these names in the Cappadocian tablets see prefaces to Sidney Smith, *Cappadocian Tablets*, parts I and III; Kikia on Kirkuk tablets, Gadd, *Tablets from Kirkuk* in R.A. XXIII. Stephens, in J.S.O.R. XI, p. 103, considers the reading *Uzbia*, erroneous. The sign is certainly *uz*, see *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets*, IV, plate 35, no. 113382, l. 9, *uz-ta-el*, II, 2, from *Ša'alu*. For the development of this form, see *ibid.*, plate 35, no. 113370, l. 6, derived from plate 21, no. 115173, l. 21.

[5] (114) Old Assyrian Months. See Landsberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer*, pp. 88–91; Landsberger and Ehelolf, *Der altassyrische Kalender* in Z.D.M.G. LXXIV, p. 216 ff. The doubts about the reading *tanmarte* expressed in Sidney Smith, *Cappadocian Texts*, part I, as compared with *takmarti* are wrongly dismissed by Lewy, *Studien zu den altassyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien:* the sign in the Cappadocian text, B.M. 113275, line 30, is *tak*, and in B.M. 113528, line 18, the sign is *ak*, not *ta-an*. Weidner's emendation of the damaged Golenischeff text in *Babyloniaca*, VI, 174, is extremely doubtful.

[6] (115) Shift in the calendar connected with eras of certain Zodiacal signs, see Weidner, *Alter und Bedeutung der babylonischen Astronomie*, p. 60 ff.

[7] (116) Shalmaneser III, Black Obelisk, line 174. On this passage see Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, III, 154 ff. The reading *akruru* has been doubted: it seems to me certain. On the *puru* see Haupt, *Purim* in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, Band VI, Heft II. For a festival *qarratu* in Adar at the Ashur temple, i.e. the lot-drawing festival, see Ehelolf and Landsberger, loc. cit. 218, note 2.

[8] (118) *Limmu*-ship, a sign of "almost republican constitution," see Meyer, *Geschichte*, I, 2, § 432.

[9] (120) New Year Festival ritual in Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*.

[10] (123) New Year ritual of ornamenting tree-trunk, see Sidney Smith in J.E.A. VIII, 43–4; in R.A. XXI, p. 84; in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, IV, p. 72.—On the *asherah* some new views have been expressed by Zimmern in Z.D.M.G. (N.F.), vol. VI, p. xliii.

[11] (125) Parallelism of story of Ashur-Marduk-Osiris, see Smith in J.E.A. VIII.—Cylinder seal with rough drawing of *tet* column, B.M. no. 89564.—Myth of Marduk originally told of Enlil argued by Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens;* of Enurta, Langdon, *Creation Epic*.

[12] (127) Osiris as successor of Anzety at Busiris, see Newberry, *Presidential Address to Anthropological Section of the British Association* (British Association, Liverpool, 1923), entitled *Egypt as a Field for Anthropological Research*, p. 9.

CHAPTER IX

[1] (131) Rectangular stone objects in Sumer—of Ur-Nina and Dudu, in *Découvertes*, plates 2 bis, 5 bis, King, *Sumer and Akkad*, opp. p. 210; Heuzey, *Catalogue des Antiquités Chaldéennes*, p. 96:

an unpublished example with inscription partly illegible in British Museum, no. 117936 : Thureau-Dangin, in R.A. IX, p. 73 ff.

[2] (131) Inscription of Zariqu and later Assyrian royal inscriptions in Luckenbill, *Ancient Records, Assyria and Babylonia*. I : see also Ebeling, Meissner and Weidner, *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*.—Docket from Duraihim, in Rylands Library, Manchester ; personal information from Father Fish.

[3] (131) Shulgi. This name remains very doubtful : the original reading, Dungi, has been abandoned for Shulgi owing to Zimmern's arguments in *König Lipit-Ischtar's Vergöttlichung ;* Witzel, *Perlen Sumerischer Poesie* rejects Shulgi for Dungi.

[4] (131) Ur dynasty dates in Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften :* three new ones in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XXV, 9 ; and important dates from Ibi-Sin's reign published by Legrain in *Museum Journal* (Philadelphia : University Museum), 1926, pp. 375 ff. See also R.A. XV, 138.

[5] (132) The reading of the name KA.DI quite uncertain. Langdon, following Radau, suggests *gu-sir*, see *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* (corrections), but in C.A.H. I, 448–9, seems to have abandoned this reading.—Simurru in the neighbourhood of Altun Koprü, see Meissner in O.L.Z. 1919, Sp. 69.

[6] (134) Sennacherib's inscription from Shemāmokh in Rawlinson, *Inscriptions of Western Asia*, part I, plate 7, no. H : the reading *Kak-zi* is erroneous, as seen by Bezold in the index of the Catalogue. I have seen two duplicates of this inscription, one on a brick at Baghdad brought from Shemāmokh by Miss Gertrude Bell and J. M. Wilson ; another *in situ* at the Kurdish cemetery at Shemāmokh. The reading is certainly *Al-še*. A brick in the private possession of an inhabitant of Quwair was published by Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens* (*Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Phil-hist. klasse, N.F. IX, no. 3), 1907 ; the reading *Kak-zi* there is repeated from Rawlinson. Bezold's doubts in Z.A. XXI, 397–8, were justified. Streck's view that Shemāmokh = Shaikh Ma'mar, in Z.D.M.G. LXII, p. 761, is an erroneous guess : the two names are quite distinct, and neither have anything to do with Tall Qasr, from which the brick certainly did not come. His statement that Rawlinson, I, implies that there are several copies of this brick in the British Museum is also erroneous. There is only one. The identification of Kakzi as Sadawa depends on brick inscriptions found in a platform by natives ; a photograph of the inscription has been sent me by R. S. Cooke, Esq., the Honorary Director of Antiquities, Iraq. For the ending *zi* in non-Assyrian place-names, cf. Nuzi in the Kirkuk tablets.

[7] (134) Kimash is mentioned in a tablet from Umma together with Ibla and Urshu, which lay in Northern Syria, see Langdon, *Cambridge Ancient History*, I ; but it is generally found in a connection which suggests an eastern location. Ḫurshi perhaps same as Ḫurshitum, Tuz Ḫurmatly, see King, *History of Babylon*, p. 212.

[8] (135) Figurines from Ur illustrated in Woolley's articles in

Antiquaries Journal.—The "whip" or "flail" of Osiris has been identified as a ladanisterium by Professor Newberry, loc. cit., p. 9.

[9] (136) Enurta, two-headed, see Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, II, 42. The phrase, "Thy heads are exalted," King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, no. 2, l. 16, cannot be pressed in this manner.—Marduk, two-headed. In a seal impression from Kirkuk Marduk has two animal heads, see Gadd in R.A. XXIII, p. 79.

[10] (137) Sword of Adad-nirari I published by Boscawen, in *Transactions of the Society for Biblical Archaeology*, IV, plate facing p. 347: Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 607. It was once (on loan) in the British Museum: now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, according to Unger, *Assyrische und Babylonische Kunst*, p. 100.—Dagger from Palestine, in Macalister, *Century of Excavation in Palestine*, plate opp. p. 236.

[11] (141) Base of figure of unknown date, *Découvertes*, plate 21, fig. 5: base of Ur-Ningirsu statue in Thureau-Dangin, *Statuettes de Tello* (Monuments et Mémoires, Fondation Eugéne Piot. XXVII), plate X. These figures are there interpreted as tribute-bringers. Ur-Nammu stele, fragment U 305, published by Woolley in *Antiquaries Journal*, III, no. 4, plate XXXIII.

[12] (142) Pur-Sin, a Semitic name. This is doubted by those who read the name Amar-Sin. I cannot share those doubts; the distinction between the writing AMAR-Sin in Third Ur and Pur-Sin in the Isin Dynasty is one of scribal practice, not of name.

[13] (144) Ḫabur, district famous for weaving, Le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 94–7.—Cloth with rippled stripe, see Mackay in J.E.A. X, 41 ff.—Documents referring to traffic in cloth come from Kul Tepe: see bibliography of next chapter.

[14] (145) Laws of Ur-Nammu and Shulgi: so Langdon in C.A.H. I, 435, 457. The guess is the more probable because the Sumerian Laws discussed by Langdon in J.R.A.S. 1920, pp. 489 ff., probably date from this period.

CHAPTER X

[1] (147) Texts from Cappadocian tablets. For the early bibliography of the subject see Contenau, *Trente tablettes cappadociennes*, 1919. Further text publications:—Sidney Smith, *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets*, I–IV, 1921–7 (introduction now long out of date); Contenau, *Tablettes Cappadociennes* (Musée du Louvre IV), 1920; Lewy, *Die altassyrischen Texte vom Kultepe bei Kaisarije* (Keilschrifttexte in den antiken Museen zu Stambul), 1926; (announced) Clay, *Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J. B. Nies*, part IV; Shileyko, *Documents de Kul Tepe* (Issvestia Rossiyskoy Akedemiyi Istoriyi Materialnoy Kultury); F. J. Stephens, *The Cappadocian Tablets in the University of Pennsylvania Museum*, in A.J.S.L., XL, pp. 101 ff.

For translations and discussions since Contenau, see Lewy, *Studien zu den altassyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien* (to be used with strict caution; the work introduces a few corrections and

many errors); id., *Zur Geschichte Assyriens and Kleinasiens in 3 und 2 Jahrtausend vor Christ* in O.L.Z. XXVI, 533–44, propounds a theory of Assyrian empire in Asia Minor; id., *Bemerkungen zu den altassyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien* in Z.A. (N.F.) I and III; id., *Das Karrum der altassyrisch-kappadokischen Städte und altassyrisches Grossreich* and *T.C.* 100, *L.C.* 242, *und das Eherecht des altassyrischen Rechtsbuches* in Z.A. (N.F.) II, pp. 19–28 and 139–61; id., *Kappadokische Tontafeln und Frühgeschichte Assyriens und Kleinasiens* in O.L.Z. XXIX, 750–61, 963–66, propounds a chronological scheme which limits the tablets to one generation (they cover at least three, Smith, op. cit., preface by Budge), and gives dates for the Assyrian kings not accepted in this work; id., *Kappadokische Tontafeln* in *Realenzyclopaedie der Vorgeschichte*, VI, pp. 212–219; id., review of Smith, *Cuneiform Texts from Cappadocian Tablets* in O.L.Z., January, 1927 (betrays an ignorance of some usual forms of signs); Landsberger, *Solidarhaften von Schuldnern in den babylonisch-assyrischen Urkunden* in Z.A. (N.F.) I, pp. 22 ff. (very valuable); id., review of Lewy, *Studien* in O.L.Z. XXVIII, 229 ff.; id., *Über die Völker Vorderasiens im 3 Jahrtausend* in Z.A. (N.F.) I, p. 215 ff.; id., *Assyrische Handelskolonien in Kleinasien* (Alte Orient, XXIV, 4), 1925 (to be used with caution wherever technical terms are used; in some cases the translations are no more than guesses at the sense); Stephens, *Notes on Cappadocian Tablets* in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XLVI, pp. 179–81; id., *Studies of the Cuneiform Tablets from Cappadocia* in *The Culver-Stockton Quarterly*, II, no. 2; Driver, review of Smith, op. cit., I–III, in J.R.A.S. 1926, pp. 719 ff.; Eisser, *Bemerkungen zu den altassyrischen Rechtsurkunden aus Kappadokien* in Z.D.M.G. LXXXI, p. xlvi. For a brief account of important excavations at Kul Tepe, see Hrozný, *The First Czecho-Slovak Excavations in the Near East* in *Central European Observer*, IV, pp. 511 ff. (3 figs.), 527–9 (2 figs.). Remarks on these tablets may be found scattered in C.A.H. I and II; the various authorities take very different views, and some false etymologies (e.g. *adunu*, "lord," really "you," 2nd pers. pl.) are given.

[2] (149) Phonetic peculiarities of Cappadocian due to idiosyncrasies of writing, not of speech. This view first advanced by Jensen in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, IX, p. 74; the view is carried so far by Landsberger that he transforms the writing in transliteration. The argument affects the whole of cuneiform writing, and in Thureau-Dangin, *Le Syllabaire Akkadien*, values otherwise not vouched for are attributed to signs with a view to obtaining a uniformity of literal transcription. I cannot accept the theory: the Kirkuk tablets use e.g., *k*, *g*, and *q* signs without distinction in the same words, and imply that people at Kirkuk did not distinguish the three sounds. The method of transliteration proposed would obscure dialectical differences that obviously existed.

[3] (150) Affixed *-ni* in dependent clauses, see Ungnad in Z.A. (N.F.) I, p. 8, note 1.

[4] (152) Assumption that the *limus* of Cappadocian tablets are Assyrian officials, Meyer, *Geschichte*, I, 2, § 465.

[5] (152) For doubts about the meaning of *hamuštu*, see Meyer, *Geschichte*, I, 2, § 323; Winckler's speculations in *Altorientalische Forschungen*, II, 91 ff.; Lewy assigns a meaning, *Studien*, p. 50, note d, perhaps correct for *Nies Coll.*, IV, no. 179, etc.

[6] (155) Seals of a scribe of Ibi-Sin, and of Sargon I of Assyria. Thureau-Dangin in R.A. VIII, p. 141; Sayce in *Babyloniaca*, IV, 2, pp. 66–7. Doubts have been expressed as to whether the seals are contemporary with the documents, or whether they were used long after the time of their original owners; the doubts are unnecessary, the character of the writing settles the question. The negative argument from the fact that only three consecutive generations can be traced in the tablets cannot be pressed.

[7] (155) Character of seals. Nothing can be added to Contenau, *Glyptique Syro-Hittite*, on this question.

[8] (156) Assumption of conquest by Ur-Nammu or Shulgi, Langdon in C.A.H. I, 453.

[9] (157) Aryan borrowing of GU(D),URUDU, see Ipsen, *Der alte Orient und die Indogermanen*, pp. 226, 233, in *Stand und Aufgaben der Sprachwissenschaft* (Festschrift für W. Streitberg), Heidelberg, 1924.

[10] (166) On Geometry, see Gadd, *Forms and Colours* in R.A. XIX. The view there expressed that the problems are of an entirely practical nature is not now held by Mr. Gadd. The literary works named are dated to this period by the language of the earliest Akkadian versions. These Akkadian versions alone are here meant, for they became known widely, not the possibly earlier Sumerian texts, e.g. of Gilgamesh Epic and the Descent of Ishtar, on which see Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts*, pp. 37 and 25.

CHAPTER XI

[1] (168) Correspondence of Ibi-Sin concerning Ishbi-Irra in Legrain, *Historical Fragments*, nos. 3, 6, 9; see Langdon, *Ibi-Sin and the fall of Ur* in R.A. XX, pp. 49 ff. Omen of Ishbi-Irra, "who had no rival," Handcock, *Cuneiform Texts*, part XXVII, plate 22, l. 21.

[2] (169) Inscriptions of Gimil-Ilishu, Idin-Dagan and Ishme-Dagan at Ur in Gadd and Legrain, *Ur Excavations. Texts* I.

[3] (172) Marshes independent under Turkish rule, see Longrigg, *Four Centuries of Modern Iraq*.

[4] (174) Lipit Ishtar's law-code, see Boissier, Lipit-Ishtar, *Législateur* in *Babyloniaca*—Inscription on agate eye, Barton in *Journal of American Oriental Society*, XLV, pp. 154–5. The suggestion that this object came from Nippur is possible but not particularly probable: anticas go, not from the Baghdad area to Mosul, but from Mosul to Baghdad.

[5] (174) Irra-imitti and Enlil-bani, see King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*. Meissner asserts that Enlil-bani was set on the throne during the New Year Festival as mock king, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, II, 99.

[6] (175) Marduk, son of the *duku*, see Gadd in *Studia Orientalia* (Tallquist Festchrift), pp. 30–31, following.

[7] (176) "Dynasty of Amurru" replaces "Dynasty of Babylon," see Weidner, *Könige von Assyrien*, p. 40. Bauer, *Die Ostkanaanäer*, p. 86, attempts to identify the "Dynasty of Amurru" with the Larsa Dynasty; the identification has nothing in its favour. Bauer also divides the names of the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon and arrives at the curious result that the last kings of the dynasty invented names which were purely fictitious in order to remind their Babylonian subjects that they were foreigners.

[8] (179) Chamber in the temple—the *kummu:* on the nature of this chamber see note in Woolley, *Babylonian Prophylactic Figures*, J.R.A.S. 1926, p. 708, note 3.

[9] (179) Chronicle tablet catch-line, King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*, II, p. 14. Albright, *Readjustment of Assyro-Babylonian Chronology by the Elimination of False Synchronisms* in *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, VIII, pp. 51–53, rejects this as valueless, and seems to have misunderstood the nature of a catch-line, for he speaks of it as a "laconic entry," and an "entry . . . bald and abstract in character."

CHAPTER XII

[1] (183) Probability that Rim-Sin of Assyria and Rim-Sin of Larsa are contemporaneous denied by Meyer, *Die ältere Chronologie*.

[2] (184) Ibn Sa'ud defers to his father, see St. John Philby, *Heart of Arabia*, I, pp. 64 ff.

[3] (185) Date-lists, see Schorr, *Urkunden;* Grice, *Dates of the Larsa Dynasty;* Langdon, *Weld-Blundell Collection*, II (W.B. 373).

[4] (187) Genesis XIV. Not much has been added to the arguments advanced in the controversy between Sellin, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Cornill, *Zur Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Sellin, *Zur Einleitung in das alte Testament*, save that the identification Arioch = Eriaku = Warad-Sin und Rim-Sin, first suggested by Pinches, is now finally discarded. King expressed his opinion in *History of Babylon*, pp. 159–60. The view that the narrative refers to the time of Tid'al I, king of the Hittites, is propounded by F. M. Böhl, *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, XLII, 148–53.

[5] (189) Erishum II, independent ruler between Rim-Sin and Hammurabi, Weidner, *Könige*, p. 46.

[6] (190) Shamshi-Adad I, not the Shamshi-Adad of the oath by Hammurabi and Shamshi-Adad in the document published by Ranke, *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vol. VI, no. 18, see Weidner, *Könige*, p. 34, note 6, who suggests that this Shamshi-Adad was a predecessor of Shamshi-Adad I and a ruler of Ḫana; he would consider Shamshi-Adad I a king of Ḫana who won Assyria.

[7] (191) For a complete statement of all the evidence, with full references to the previous literature, concerning the Ḫabiru, see Jack, *The Date of the Exodus*, 1925, Chapters VII–X. Lands-

berger's statement in Z.A. (N.F.) I, 213, that *Ḫabiru* and *'Ibhri* cannot be equated is pontifical without being convincing on philological grounds. The form *Ḫabirai* should show that the name derives from a place-name; Lewy agrees with Landsberger that it is an epithet and suggests a rendering, in Z.A. (N.F.) II, 26, note 4. Opitz refines on the phonetic possibilities in Z.A. (N.F.) III; cuneiform writing and sound changes of the period are too little understood for this kind of argument. The whole subject of the Hebrews-Ḫabiru is treated on broad lines in Jirku, *Die Wanderungen der Hebräer in 3 and 2 Jahrtausend vor Christ.* On "the god Ḫabiru" and "the gods of the *Ḫabiru*," see the careful discussion by Gustavs, *Was heisst ilani Ḫabiri?* in *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (N.F.) III, p. 25 ff.

[8] (194) Hammurabi's inscription at Ur, see Gadd and Legrain, *Ur Excavations. Texts* I.

[9] (194) Statue of Puzur-Ishtar, see Unger, *Sumerische und Akkadische Kunst*, p. 102, and Essad Nassouhi, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Bd. III, pp. 109 ff.; the latter, following Weidner, regards the statue as that of a god erected by Puzur-Ishtar: doubtful.

[10] (195) Document dealing with revolt in Suḫi, published by Pinches, *Cuneiform Texts*, part IV, plates 1–2, translated by Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, no. 238. The version given in the text varies from Ungnad in trifling details.

[11] (196) On Issi-Dagan, see Ungnad in O.L.Z. 1914, 343 ff., Andrae, *Die archaischen Ischtar-Tempel*, p. 102, no. 147, Abbildung 76b.

[12] (197) Possibility that three kings' names have been lost after Erishum II, see Weidner, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Bd. III, p. 76, and Essad Nassonhi, *ibid.* IV, p. 2.

[13] (198) Irikapkapu. This name was erroneously read Igurkapkapu by Winckler in Z.A. II, p. 314, and the sign has been miscopied since then: the correct reading was first pointed out in Sidney Smith, *First Campaign of Sennacherib*, p. 78: since then by Thureau-Dangin in R.A. XX, p. 7. Meissner's statement that the reading is still doubtful, op. cit., p. 26, note 3, is wrong.

[14] (198) Attribution of inscriptions concerning Anu-Adad temple, including the long inscription, Messerschmidt, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, Heft I, no. 2, to Shamshi-Adad I, see Weidner, *Könige*, p. 34; Meissner in Ebeling, Meissner, Weidner, *Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*, p. 22. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, vol. I, pp. 15–16, leaves the question open.

[15] (198) Inscription of Sin-gashid in Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften.*—Views on these prices, Schwenzner, *Zum Altbabylonischen Wirtschaftsleben*, p. 6, in *Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1914, Heft 3; Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, I, 54, 149, 361 (it is difficult to reconcile the view that Sin-gashid's inscription is not literally true, on p. 54, or that the prices never obtained, p. 361, with the statement that Sin-gashid fixed maximum prices, p. 149); id., in Ebeling, Meissner, Weidner, *Inschriften der altassyrischen Konige*, p. 24, note 2. Meyer, *Geschichte*, I, 2, § 421, King, *History of Babylon*, p. 211, Olmstead,

History of Assyria, p. 29, accept as fact.—Fall of prices in Ashurbanipal's reign, see Streck, *Assurbanipal*, II, pp. 76–7, ll. 48–9.

[16] (200) " Laban, beside the great Sea "—Lewy in O.L.Z. 1923, 541 ff., identifies the great Sea as the Black Sea ; Weidner, *Memnon*, VI, p. 159, identifies Laban and the Lebanon.

[17] (201) *šar kiššati* arising from definite local dominion and connected with rule over Mesopotamia last argued by Weidner in Ebeling, Meissner, Weidner, op. cit., p. 73, note 13.

[18] (203) Seal from tholos ossuary, see Evans, *Palace of Minos*, vol. I, pp. 197–8 ; for the information that the scarabs are Egyptian and not Minoan imitations I am indebted to Dr. Hall.

CHAPTER XIII

[1] (208) Bazai and Lullai. This explanation of the name Lullai was first suggested by Albright in *Journal of the Society for Oriental Research*, VIII, p. 55.—For the suggestion that the difference in the king-lists is due to dynastic struggles, see Meyer, *Altere Chronologie*.

[2] (209) Shi-Ninua. This name has been read Pan-Ninua (Weidner, Albright, considering it a contraction of Pan-Ninua-lamur) and Tukulti-Ninua (Meyer : erroneous). That it is to be read phonetically is proved by names in the Cappadocian tablets beginning *Si ;* there are similar names in the New Babylonian period (e.g. Shi'-ilu, Dougherty, *Archives from Erech, Time of Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonides*, no. 15, l. 2). The name means, " Seek, Ninua."

[3] (209) Chronicler's note on invasion of Hittites, see King, *Chronicles*, etc., II, p. 22.—Inscription of Telibinush concerning Murshilish I's capture of Babylon, translated in Hrozný, *Hethitische Texte*, pp. 102–105 ; Friedrich, *Aus dem hethitischen Schrifttum* (Alte Orient, XXIV, no. 3), Heft 1, p. 6. Different views of early Hittite chronology proposed by Forrer, M.D.O.G. no. 61, p. 29, and Hrozný, *Hethitische Könige* (Boghazköi Studien, V). Connection with Agum-kak-rime's recovery of statues proposed by King, *Chronicles*, etc., I, pp. 148–9. For a general discussion in favour of identifying Murshilish's capture with Hittite raid, see Schnabel in Z.D.M.G. (N.F.) V, pp. 346–348.

[4] (211) Name of the language of " Hittite " cuneiform inscriptions unknown. As against Forrer's view that it was certainly called " Kanisian," the language of the city of Ganish or Kanis advanced in Z.D.M.G., see Hrozný, *Volker und Sprachen des alten Chatti Landes*, p. 54.

[5] (212) Geography of Ḫurri. Different views in Forrer, M.D.O.G. nos. 61 and 63 (maps), Götze, *Kleinasien zur Hethiterzeit*, 1924 (map), Weidner, M.D.O.G. no. 58 (map), Garstang and Mayer, *Index of Hittite Names* (map), and Sidney Smith in J.E.A. X, pp. 113–4. The criticisms of the last-named article by Albright and Garstang and Mayer in J.E.A. XI, depend upon mistranslations and misunderstandings ; no positive evidence is adduced. Weidner's attempt, *Politische Dokumente*, p. 46, note 3, to connect

the name of the city of Harran with the Ḫarri or Ḫurri, followed by Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, pp. 38, 495, is hardly probable.

[6] (213) Indo-Iranian element in Ḫurri. (*a*) Aryan names of kings, Saushshatar, Artatama, Shutarna, Dushratta, see Meyer in *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen preussischen Akademie*, 1907; Ungnad, *Völkerwanderungen*. (*b*) Iranian gods, first pointed out by Winckler in M.D.O.G. no. 35, p. 51. For the distinctively Iranian form of Našatianna, see Charpentier in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, III, p. 752, note 3. Sten Konow, *The Aryan Gods of the Mitani People* (Christiania, 1921), points out that in part these gods are purely Indian. (*c*) Sanskrit numerals pointed out by Hrozný, *Hethitische Texte*, p. xii; Jensen, in *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen preussischen Akademie*, 1919, 367 ff.; and further discussed by Sommer, *Hethitisches* (Boghazköi Studien, IV), pp. 2 ff.; Forrer in Z.D.M.G. LXXVI, pp. 252 ff. For the bearing of this distinctive Iranian element on theories of Indo-European origins, see Charpentier, *Original Home of the Indo-Europeans* in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, IV. The attempt to prove that Mithra was known in late Assyrian times from an entry in a god-list, see Jensen in Z.A. II. p. 195, note 2; Fossey, *Mithra, Mitraššil et Mitrašul* in *Journal Asiatique*, Série X, Tome XV, is based on an error. *Mitra* in King, *Cuneiform Texts*, part XXV, plate 25, is a gloss on PA, Sumerian *mudra-mitra*, and (*AN*)*mitra-šu-du*, "holder of the staff," is a periphrastic description of the sun-god, not a name properly speaking.—Hrozný, *Hethitische Texte*, XII; Husing, *Die einheimischen Quellen zur Geschichte Elams;* Ungnad, *Die ältesten Volkerwanderungen Vörderasiens*, p. 11: all maintain that the element is not "Iranian" but specifically "Indian." Kretschmer, *Varuna und die Urgeschichte der Inder* in *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1926, pp. 1–22, says the ruling class was Indian, perhaps mixed with Iranians. Dr. Barnett kindly informed me that not one of the arguments put forward on linguistic grounds is decisive. Any or all the words may be "Iranian" of a period before Iranian developed its peculiarities. Perhaps there is a slight balance in favour of "Indian," or was the language still "Indo-Iranian"? Forrer, *Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Ḫatti Reiches* in Z.D.M.G. LXXVI, pp. 247 ff., followed by Bilabel, *Geschichte*, I, p. 137, calls the Indo-Iranian element the Manda. But there is nowhere any mention of Manda in the Mitanni or Ḫurri lands, where the Indo-Iranian influences are found.

[7] (214) Horse. Cappadocian seal published by Pinches, *Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, vol. I, plate XVII, no. 11. As to the omens about the king and the horse connected with Sargon, I am indebted to Mr. Gadd for the information. The terra-cotta object said to be a horse, from Kish, has been published by Langdon in *The Times*. Doubtful occurrence on the seal of the Gutian period, Legrain, *Culture of the Babylonians*, no. 154.

[8] (215) Kassites Kissioi, see Oppert in Z.A. III, 421, Lehmann-Haupt in Z.A. VII, 327–8, Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical*

Texts, 139–140.—Kassite labourers, see King, *History of Babylon*, p. 215, note 3.

[9] (215) On the Indo-European element in certain Kassite names, see Hall, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 201 ; on the Kassite language, see Campbell Thompson in *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, 353.

[10] (216) On the Hyksos, see Hall in *Cambridge Ancient History*, I, pp. 310 ff. ; also in *The People and the Book* (edited by Professor A. S. Peake), 1926.—Proposal to identify the Hyksos dominion with the kingdom of Ḫanigalbat by M. Pieper in O.L.Z. XXVIII (1925), 417 ff.

[11] (218) Manetho excerpted by Josephus—the substitution of "Babylonians" for "Assyrians" has been most recently championed by Lehmann-Haupt in *Festschrift des Historikerklubs in Innsbruck*, p. 81.

[12] (220) Puzur-Sin inscription: photograph published in Andrae, *Hethitische Inschriften auf Bleistreifen aus Assur ;* the original is in the British Museum, B.M. no. 115,688. The inscription is not mentioned in Ebeling, Meissner, Weidner, *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*, or by Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, vol. I ; but see *Guide to Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* (Third edition : British Museum), p. 61. Though the first sign of the name is broken, the reading is certain.

CHAPTER XIV

[1] (222) For Egyptian references to Mentu and Satet see index to Breasted, *Ancient Records :* the geographical discussion in Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, needs bringing up-to-date : for the identification of Sutu with the land Satet, see Weber in the notes to Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*, p. 1039.—Sutu and Egyptian ambassadors, see Knudtzon, op. cit., no. 16 ; Aḫlamu and Babyloniana mbassadors, see letter of Ḫattushil to Kadashman-Enlil, text in Figulla and Weidner, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Heft I, no. 10 ; partially translated by Winckler in M.D.O.G. no. 35 (to be used with caution), and by Weidner in M.D.O.G. no. 58 ; see also Ranoschek, *Ein Brief des Königs Ḫattušil von Ḫatti an den König Kadašman-Enlil von Babylon* (Breslau), 1922. Ashtata—the conclusions of Forrer, *Forschungen*, vol. II, pp. 41–59, do not seem to me adequately based.

[2] (223) Description of 'Amu in precepts delivered to Merikere, see Gardiner, J.E.A. I., pp. 20 ff.

[3] (225) Egyptian rule in Byblos, see Montet in *Comptes rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1923, pp. 84 ff. : Albright, *The date of the foundation of the early Egyptian temple of Byblos* in *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, LXII, p. 62, contains nothing fresh : the view of Frankfort, in J.E.A. XII, 84–5, that the existence of an Egyptian temple does not prove Egyptian domination is too paradoxical to be correct. Only Egyptian military or naval

forces could have made the building and maintenance of such a temple possible.

[4] (226) Pots from Cyprus at Ashur, see Hall in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. II, p. 430.

[5] (226) Assyrian scribe's vocabulary, see Smith and Gadd, *A cuneiform vocabulary of Egyptian words* in J.E.A. XI, pp. 230 ff.; Albright, *The New Cuneiform Vocabulary* in J.E.A. XII, p. 186 ff., has introduced some needless errors of reading.

[6] (226) Hieratic note on ostracon, see Hall in *Deir el-Bahari* (Egypt Exploration Fund), part III, pp. 18–19.

[7] (226–9) Tribute list at Karnak, see Bouriant in *Recueil de Travaux*, II, 155–6; the transliteration here given follows that of Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 280–1. The question as to the historic truth is raised by Olmstead, *History*, pp. 35 ff.

[8] (229) On Bazu east of Tigris, the river Ruru and Mt. Ḫasu, see Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, pp. 17–18. The reversion of Meissner, *Könige Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 296, to the old view that Bazu lay in the Arabian desert is not supported by any evidence; certainly not by the alleged "Semitic" character of the royal names. Meissner alleges against the eastern location "that Esarhaddon cannot possibly have marched to the border of Beluchistan." But what has this to do with a location near Isfahan? The argument is 450 miles wide of the mark.—Tamannai, see inscription of Adad-nirari II, translated in Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, pp. 109 ff.

[9] (232–3) Babylonian description of blue enamel and frit as lapis lazuli, Koldewey, *Excavations at Babylon*, pp. 45–6; Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 93; Campbell Thompson, *Chemistry of the Ancient Assyrians*, pp. 22, 84 ff.—Original manufacture of glass in Egypt, this, the general view of archaeologists, has most recently been stated by Freiherr von Bissing, *De oostersche Grondslag der Kunstgeschiedenis*, pp. 21–2 and 54. The view that the earliest glass in Egypt was imported is held by Mr. Horace Beck, F.S.A.

[10] (236) Hymn to Ishtar of Nineveh in Ḫurri language, see Hrozný, *Völker und Sprachen des alten Chatti-Landes* (Boghazköi Studien, no. 5, p. 48, note 1). There is a prayer to Ishtar of Nineveh in the "Hittite" language translated by Friedrich, *Aus dem hethitischen Schrifttum*, Heft. 2, pp. 20 ff.

CHAPTER XV

[1] (238) Ḫurri—Aryans, Winckler in M.D.O.G. no. 35; *mariannu*, ibid., compared with Vedic mārya; Mitanni as "Mita's men" by Hogarth, *Kings of the Hittites*, p. 62; Washshukkanni interpreted as *Vasu-gaṇī*, "hordes of Vasus," by Friedrich in *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*, II, p. 121. On the latter derivation Dr. Barnett informs me as follows:—"*Vasu-gaṇa* is a perfectly correct compound, meaning a troop of the Vasus, but there is no analogy for a derivative *Vasugaṇī* applied as the name of a town. In

ordinary Sanskrit *Vasuganī* would mean a group of groups of Vasus, which is a reductio ad absurdum of the argument." On the situation of Washukkanni, see the guess by Opitz, *Die Lage von Waššugganni* in Z.A. (N.F.) III, pp. 299 ff., that it is identical with the *Sikani* mentioned by Adad-nirari II. For the best discussion of *mariannu*, see Gustavs in Z.A. (N.E.) II, 297, ff., though Kretschmer in *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXXIII, 8–9, rather clings to Winckler's view.

[2] (239) Chronology and history of Hittites in fifteenth century, see the statements of Forrer in M.D.O.G. no. 61. The account of the researches of other scholars in Bilabel, *Geschichte*.—Arzawa. The language of Arzawa in Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*, no. 32, is the "Hittite" of the cuneiform documents of Boghazkeui: the Arzawans were invaders, *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazkeui*, Heft VI, no. 28, obv. 8, and settled in between two blocks of people speaking "Luvian." Sidney Smith in J.E.A. X, 114.

[3] (241) On Tirqa=Sirqu, the modern 'Asharah, see Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme, *Cinq Jours de Fouilles à 'Ashárah* in *Syria*, 1924, in which all the references used may be found.

[3a] (242) See P.S.B.A. XXI, plate III, opp. p. 155.

[4] (242) Possibility of the identity of Artatama's daughter and Mutemua, suggested by Breasted in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. II, p. 92, and Pridik, *Mut-em-wija. Die Mutter Amenhotep's III;* Wolf in O.L.Z. XXIX, 34–5, does not accept the possibility of this identification.

[5] (243) Tuhi. A reading Pirḫi also possible. See Gadd in R.A. XXIII, p. 79, *b*.

[6] (244) Qizzuwadna. For various views previously advanced, see Sidney Smith, *Kizzuwadna* in J.E.A. X, pp. 104 ff. Since 1924, Garstang and Mayer, *Kizzuwadna and other Hittite States* in J.E.A. XI, pp. 23 ff., Forrer, *Forschungen*, vol. II, pp. 38–40, have denied that Qizzuwadna can be eastern Cilicia, but have adduced no positive evidence that it is on the Black Sea; Gotze, *Die Lage von Kizwatnaš* in Z.A. (N.F.) II, pp. 305 ff., has adduced positive evidence for a location on the Gulf of Issus. For the spelling of the name, a simple transcription of the Semitic cuneiform is here given; that the first letter was *q* is proved by the Egyptian hieroglyphs. The remarks of Albright in J.E.A. XI, pp. 21–22, are based on a misunderstanding. F. Bilabel, *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens vom* 16–11 *Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, pp. 270–275, has formulated a credo. His method may be judged by the sentence "denn seiner Frage, ob jemand einen semitischen Flussnamen im Pontosgebiet fur glaüblich erachte, braucht man . . . nur jene entgegenznhalten, wann Semiten im Taurosgebiet, gesiedelt haben," by his statement that Tabal was a neighbour of the Chalybes compared with pp. 6, 138, etc., of his own book (obviously contradictory) and by his renderings of the cuneiform signs in this name (p. 270, note 3). His attempt to dismiss the location on the Gulf of Issus do not prove the location on the Black Sea correct.

[7] (244) For the account of the relations of Shubbiluliu and Dushratta, see the documents translated by Luckenbill in A.J.S.L.

pp. 162–71 and 171–6; Weidner, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*, nos. 1 and 2.

[8] (245) Religious upheaval began in reign of Amenhotep III, see Peet in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. II, p. 205.

[9] (248) Dushratta the king of Ḫanigalbat. This is the view of Weber in his notes on this letter, no. 16. Note that the actual expression is "the Ḫanigalbatian king," which may merely be a term of abuse. Letter no. 20, l. 17, does not prove Ḫanigalbut Mitanni, as Bilabel, *Geschichte*, p. 7, states.

[10] (253) Ḫuria. See note by Weber in Knudtzon's edition.

[11] (258) Ŏn Bibḫururia, see Zimmern and Friedrich, *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Subbiluliumaš und der Witwe des Bib(p)hururiaš d.i. Amenophis IV* (?) in Z.A. XXXV, 37–42; Götze, *Zum Briefwechsel zwischen Šuppiluliuma und der Witwe des Bibhururijaš* in O.L.Z. XXVII, 581 ff.; and particularly Forrer, *Forschungen*, vol. II, where further material is translated. Not all this translation is certain, and the discussion is highly speculative.

[12] (261) Murshilish. Text in Hrozný, *Hethithische Texte*, Forrer, *Forschungen;* Tenner, *Ein hethitischer Annalentext des Königs Muršiliš II* in *Jubiläums-Festschrift der II städtischen Realschule zu Leipzig.*

[13] (262) For the view that Muṣri lay round Arinna, bordering on Comana, see Sayce, in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XXIII, p. 98; the view that it is between Malatia and Erzingan most recently championed by Weidner, in Ebeling, Meissner, Weidner, *Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*, p. 63, note 11, is not favoured by the references there quoted; for the view that the land may lie east of Tigris, Sidney Smith in J.E.A. X, p. 110, (b), and note 4, Landsberger and Bauer in Z.A. (N.F.) III, pp. 76 and 221.

[14] (263) "Synchronous History," text in King, *Cuneiform Texts*, part XXXIV; Babylonian Chronicle known as P, ibid. For discussions of the passages, see literature cited by Weidner, *Könige*, p. 53, note 3. Kadashman-ḫarbe ordered great massacres of the Sutii from east to west, *kamari Sutii rabbātù ištu ṣit Šamši adi ereb Šamši išpurma adi la baše emuq* (*pl*)*-šunu*, Chronicle P. I, 6–7; the translation given by Weidner, "unterwarf die zahlreichen Suti von Osten bis nach Westen bis zur Vernichtung ihrer Macht" is grammatically impossible, because it makes *rabbātu* (fem. pl.) agree with *Sutii* (m.) instead of *kamari* (pl. of the fem. noun kamarū) and misinterprets *išpur*, "sent word about, ordered." The reading Ḫarbe is not absolutely certain, but the Kadashman-Murtil of Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, I, p. 144, has no authority. The ending *-til* is Subaraean, but that cannot be used in the matter of Kassite names, and *-tiliash* is not an absolute parallel. Meissner also uses the chronicle as an authority for the statement that the Kassite king built a road through the desert to the west—without justification. Such road-building was not practised by the Kassites.

[15] (264) Irra myth. For a provisional version of all the known extant fragments of this myth, see Ebeling, *Der akkadische Mythus*

vom Pestgotte Era (Berlin), 1925: full references may there be found as to texts used. The fragments from Ashur need recollation and editing in better copies. The translation of many passages is extremely doubtful.

CHAPTER XVI

[1] (269) Kummuḫ. On this name and the geographical location of the district, see King, *Kummukh and Commagene* in *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1913, pp. 47–56, as against Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, whom I previously followed, in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. III. Weidner has recently pointed out the correctness of King's view as against Forrer's in Ebeling, Meissner, Weidner, *Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*, p. 61, note 14, but continues to read *Ku-ut-mu-ḫi*, *Kat-mu-hi* and *Kum-mu-ḫi*; all three can be read *Ku-u(m)-mu-hi*, *Kum-mu-hi*. The same land is called *Kummaḫā* in a Boghazkeui text, see Hrozný, *Hethitische Texte*, p. 158.

[2] (269) Turukku—for their war with Hammurabi, see Langdon, *Weld-Blundell Collection*, p. 34, Year 37 of Hammurabi.

[3] (270) Battles with Esini, possibly in the district round Nineveh, if the mention of Tarbiṣ (modern Sharīf Ḫan) is really concerned with fighting.

[4] (270) Deduction as to loss of territories, Schroeder in O.L.Z. 1919, 73, accepted by Weidner, op. cit.

[5] (272) Treaty of Shuna-ashshura dated to time of Muwatalliš, see literature cited in J.E.A. X, p. 110, note 1. Forrer, *Forschungen*, I, would now date this treaty earlier, and considers it was concluded with Shubbiluliu.

[6] (273) Ashtata. The conclusions of Forrer, *Forschungen*, II, 47, are not here accepted.

[7] (275) Ḫattushilish. See Götze, *Ḫattušiliš, Der Bericht über seine Thronbesteigung nebst Paralleltexten* in *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, XXIX, no. 3.

[8] (275) Mira. On the events connected with this land see Forrer, *Forschungen*, Band I, pp. 9 ff.

[9] (276) Treaty of Rameses and Ḫattushilish. See Gardiner and Langdon, *Treaty of Alliance between Ḫattušili, King of the Hittites, and the Pharaoh Ramesses II of Egypt* in J.E.A. VI.

[10] (278) "In three days I made the land of Uruatri to bend in submission." The same difficulty of interpretation occurs in the inscription of Ibi-Sin from Ur, published in the Supplement to Ur Excavation Texts, which says "he subdued Susa, Adamdun and the land of Awan in one day." In this case the reference seems to be to the defeat of three allies in a single battle.

[11] (279) On the identification of the Arinni sacked by Shalmaneser I with the Arinna in Asia Minor, see Weidner in Ebeling, Meissner, Weidner, *Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*, p. 115, note 6, who considers it "wohl zweifellos."—On Muṣri, see note 13 to Chapter XV.

[12] (279) Shattuara. Weidner, loc. cit., has compared the name Shanduarri, a Median prince in Esarhaddon's time.

CHAPTER XVII

[1] (283) The land of *meḫru* trees: for the proposed location, see Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 18; otherwise Landsberger and Bauer in Z.A. (N.F.) III, p. 75, where an unlikely explanation of *meḫru* is given. I doubt whether *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*, Heft IV, no. 14, has anything to do with this land; otherwise Bilabel, *Geschichte*, p. 320.

[2] (283) Purukuzzi. Meissner, *Könige Babyloniens und Assyriens*, p. 292, states on Weidner's authority that there is a variant Purulimzi, which would necessitate a reading Purulumzi.

[3] (283–4) Inscription of Tukulti-Enurta I. The translation of this passage in Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, I, p. 57, can hardly be correct. The reading Enurta (not as Luckenbill, Urta) is indicated by an Aramaic spelling and by entries in syllabaries. Ungnad would read Nimurta, to justify which reading Nimrod is adduced. Bilabel, *Geschichte*, has *Namurta*, consistently; this reading is quite baseless.

[4] (285) Bit-makki, probably to be connected with the city of Makkamē, "the edge of the waters," in Sidney Smith, *First Campaign of Sennacherib*, l. 40.

[5] (286) View that conquest of Babylon was ultimate aim of Assyrian kings, expressed in most modern histories, has last been voiced in Weidner, *Studien zur assyrisch-babylonischen Chronologie* in *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, XX, no. 4, pp. 72–3.— The most important case not consonant with this view is that of Sennacherib, see *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. III, pp. 69–70. See, further, Chapter XVIII.

[6] (288) Ashurnaṣirpal. The view of Weidner, *Könige*, p. 19, that the chronicle called P is in error, and that Tukulti-Enurta's son, murderer and successor, was named Ashur-nadin-apli has been adopted by Campbell Thompson in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. II. The king-list is not unequivocally in favour of this view. Tukulti-Enurta I is named in the first line of Col. II. Another name, not the *ditto* sign, stood in line 2, and Ashur-nadin-apli is named in line 3. In no single case in Col. II is a name mentioned other than that of a king; and in ll. 5–6 and 12–13 two kings are mentioned in following lines of the same section. In all probability, therefore, a king's name stood in line 2, and the traces do not allow of any decision against the correctness of the chronicler's statement. This view has been outlined by me in J.E.A. X, p. 71. Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, pp. 18 ff., has an ingenious theory (which seems to me possible) of an erasure on a royal stele. Another list omits Ashurnaṣirpal.

[7] (289) Letter of Adad-shum-naṣir to Nabu-daian and Ashurnarari III, Harper, *Letters*, vol. VIII, no. 924. For literature on this subject, see Weidner, *Studien zur assyrisch-babylonischen Chronologie*,

p. 76, note 1. Olmstead has attempted to give the purport of the letter in *History of Assyria*, p. 56: the document remains unintelligible.

[8] (289) Alashiya. The identification with Cyprus, accepted by Weber in his notes on Knudtzon, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln* has been doubted by Hall, *The Land of Alashiya*, in *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, 1913, pp. 33 ff., where the old identification of the Egyptian Asiy with Alashiya-Cyprus is finally disproved; see also Hall in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Ramsay* (Manchester University Press), 1923, pp. 178–9. There is an impartial summary in Pauly-Wissowa.

[9] (290) On the facts concerning the kings of Aḫḫiawa, see Forrer, M.D.O.G. no. 63, and his article, *Die Griechen in den Boghazköi-Texten* in O.L.Z. XXVII (1924), 113 ff.; for a criticism by Friedrich of Forrer's identifications with Greek names, see Z.D.M.G. (N.F.) VI, p. 1. Some very important corrections of Forrer's versions by Götze are cited in Bilabel, *Geschichte*, I, pp. 160–161.—On the invasions of Egypt, see Hall, *The Keftians, Philistines and other Peoples of the Levant* in *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. II, and the bibliography.

[10] (290–1) Dudḫaliash's treaty with Amurru. See Forrer's note on this subject in M.D.O.G. no. 61, p. 34; O.L.Z., 1924, Sp. 115. Tukulti-Enurta I's letter to Dudḫaliash, Weidner, *Keilschriftturkunden aus Boghazköi*, III, 73.

CHAPTER XVIII

[1] (294) Ilbaba-shum-iddin. The reading Ilbaba depends on the list, Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, no. 46, l. 9; those who feel able to criticise Assyrian scribes on such matters reject this evidence, see Weidner in *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*, Band II, p. 13, notes 1 and 7. Weidner reads Zababa, and rightly points out the error committed by me in the note in *First Campaign of Sennacherib*, p. 79. Note that Winckler's interpretation in *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, pp. 535 ff., of a much broken document concerning Enlil-nadin-aḫḫe and Kutur-Nanḫunde of Elam is too doubtful to be accepted here, though Hüsing, *Quellen zur Geschichte Elams*, p. 26, considers it certain. No more can be said than is to be found in King, *History of Babylon*, p. 245, note 1, despite Bilabel, *Geschichte*, I, pp. 179–80.

[2] (295) Kassites the chief element in Babylonian army in the time of Ashurnaṣirpal III, 884–859 B.C., see his Annals, col. III, l. 17.

[3] (295–6) Letter from Nebuchadrezzar to an unknown, for literature see Weidner, *Studien*, p. 79, and note 4. Olmstead, *History*, pp. 59–61, has given an account of the contents. The document needs republishing.—Shilḫak-in-Shusinak's campaign, see texts published by Scheil, *Délégation en Perse, Texts Anzanites*, nos. LXXIII and XCII; Hüsing, *Quellen*, no. 56, with remarks on p. 80.—Ḫuteludush, called by the Babylonians Hulteludush, the king met by Nebuchadrezzar, see Thureau-Dangin, in R.A. X, p. 97.

[4] (298) The view of Hogarth, in *Kings of the Hittites* (Schweich Lectures), that the Mushki may have originated in northern Mesopotamia, is extremely improbable. Records of earlier centuries, though very partial, reveal sufficiently the conditions in Mesopotamia and in Asia Minor to preclude this possibility.

[5] (299) *Qurṭi*. The reading is not certain, *Kurḥi* is also possible. Some see in this name the possible original of the name Kurd. So Bilabel, *Geschichte*, I, p. 184.

[6] (302) Marriti, almost certainly identical with the BAR(parak). MAR.RI of *The First Campaign of Sennacherib*, l. 42, and BAR.DUMU (*parakmari*) of King, *Boundary Stones*, p. 17, l. 15, and Brünnow, *List of Cuneiform Ideographs*, no. 6900; these again must be connected with the Marrî of the geographical text concerning Sargon of Agade, Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, no. 92, l. 23. This Marrî should not be equated with Mari, "ship-city," as Albright, *Geographical Treatise on Sargon of Akkad's Empire* in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XLV, p. 225, without further proof. For the correct order of Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe's campaigns see King, *History of Babylon*, p. 256, against Weidner, N.V.A.G., 1915, 83.

CHAPTER XIX

[1] (306) Aribi of the east (on the borders of the settlement of the Sutu across the Tigris), at the end of the eighth century B.C., see Sargon, *Annals*, l. 162; Luckenbill, *Records*, II, p. 10, § 23. It has been asserted by Landsberger and Bauer in Z.A. (N.F.) III, pp. 97–8, that the Aribi were Aramaeans, on the ground of their names. I cannot hold that the evidence proves this; the names can be excellently explained as Arabic. That some names are the same as used by the Aramaeans is intelligible. That at a much later time the Aribi used an impure dialect, Aramaic in character, is proved by the Nabataean inscriptions, but a consideration of circumstances and chronology will account for this. Antiquity distinguished between *Aramu* and *Aribi*, and we should follow. On the other hand, Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, p. VIII, followed by Bilabel, *Geschichte*, p. 10, note 4, denies that the Sutu were reckoned as Aramaeans. They are continually classed with Aḫlamu during the second millennium and with the Puqudu and others in the first; the inference that they are Aramaean seems to me inevitable.

[2] (307) Marduk-shapik-zer-mati, texts of "Synchronous History" and the Chronicle compared by King, *Chronicles*, I, p. 191; see *ibidem* for Adad-apal-iddinam.

[3] (308) Tukulti-Mer. The most recent publication of the object from Sippar in Thureau-Dangin and Dhorme, *Cinq Jours de Fouilles à Ashârah*, in *Syria*, 1924, pp. 279–80. For the inscription from Ashur, see Luckenbill, *Records*, I, p. 137, where the identification with Tukulti-Enurta II is suggested.

[3a] (312) Ashur-dan II fought against the Aramaeans, and

recovered Kummuḫ. See Meissner, *Könige*, pp. 124 and 292, where information from Weidner as to the unpublished Annals of Ashur-dan II in Constantinople is used.

[4] (310) Aramaean war on Nabu-mukin-apli, see King, *Chronicles*, II, pp. 80–81 ; activity in reign of Eriba-Marduk, ibid., p. 67.

[5] (311) On the art of Carchemish, Singirli, Sakjegeuzi, Tall Ḥalaf, dated to the eleventh and tenth centuries, see Hogarth, *Kings of the Hittites*. This is, I think, more probable than the earlier dating given by Meyer and Pottier, quoted by Hogarth.

[6] (314) For an effort to prove direct deification of the king in Assyria, see Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, chapter XLVI. Adversely criticised by Jean in *Babyloniaca*, IX.

CHAPTER XX

[1] (318) Assyrian laws. Texts in Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, nos. 1–6. Translations : Scheil, *Recueil de lois assyriennes*, Tallquist, *Old Assyrian laws*, Ehelolf, *Altassyrisches Rechtsbuch*, Lie, *Gamle Assyriske Love*, Jastrow, *Assyrian Law Code* in J.A.O.S. XLI, 1–59. A translation by G. R. Driver is forthcoming. Discussions—linguistic, Lewy, *Das Verbum in den altassyrischen Gesetzen* (to be used with caution) ; legal, Koschaker, in his introduction to Ehelolf, op. cit. ; idem, *Quellenkritische Untersuchungen zu dem altassyrischen Gesetze* in M.V.A.G. 1921 ; on which see Driver and Miles, *Koschaker's Theory of the Old Assyrian Laws* in *Babyloniaca*, IX. A general sketch in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, I, pp. 175 ff., and in C.A.H. III. Particular discussions of the levirate law are all replaced by Koschaker's study. Lewy, *Das Eherecht des altassyrischen Rechtsbuches* in Z.A. (N.F.) II, p. 139 ff., advances a theory I am unable to accept.

[2] (321–2) Private documents from Ashur. The main body is published by Ebeling, *Juristische Texte aus Assur ;* there are some interesting examples in Schroeder, op. cit.

[3] (321) *ḫubši*. In 'Amarnah letters, see Glossary to Knudtzon, *El-Amarna Tafeln*, II, p. 1417 ; Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième Campagne*, p. 7, note 10 ; Lewy, in Z.A. (N.F.) II, 148, note 3 (hardly correct), accepted by Driver in *English Historical Review*, XLI, p. 424 (where I think an erroneous translation is advanced).

[4] (322) The official titles. For the later period there are the excellent discussions in Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents ;* Klauber, *Assyrisches Beamtentum*.

[5] (322) *ummanu*. On this official as the chief scribe see Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, II, p. 657, note 4 ; Schroeder in O.L.Z. 1920, cols. 204–7 ; Weidner, *Könige*, p. 10, note 1. The *ummanu* of the Old Babylonian documents were similarly the secretaries and accounting clerks of private individuals, as is proved beyond doubt by a comparison of King, *Boundary Stones*, Plate XXV, Col. II, l. 9, with Schorr, *Urkunden*, no. 169, l. 12, where two men on dissolving partnership, " reckoned up the account and satisfied [*i.e.* paid] their clerk " before allotting the profits. See Smith

in R.A. XXI, p. 92, and XXII, p. 68; Landsberger holds to a different view, in Z.A. (N.F.) III, p. 96, without giving reasons.

[6] (324) Stamped lumps of lead, see Sidney Smith, *A Pre-Greek Coinage in the Near East?* in *Numismatic Chronicle* (Fifth Series), II, pp. 2–11. Roundels, ibid., and Andrae, *Altassyrische Bleiplaketten* in *Zeitschrift für Numismatik*, XXXIV, Hefte 1–2, pp. 1–6. The intention of my article was to point out (i) the probability that Sennacherib's half-shekel pieces were shaped and ornamented like the earlier roundels, (ii) that the conjunction of stamped lumps of lead and roundels pointed to a use of the latter as a means of exchange, (iii) that the extra value of stamped metal was recognised at so early a period as that of the Cappadocian tablets: if these three points be accurately stated, then in Sennacherib's time (not necessarily earlier) the Assyrians were using a currency which seems to me indistinguishable from a coinage. The remarks of Andrae, *Gesiegeltes Geld* in O.L.Z. 1923, cols. 589–591, do not affect this position, and he has misrepresented my words: the "*a priori* conjecture" referred only to the dating of the pieces to about 1400–1200 B.C.; and this is confirmed admirably by the account of their position when found given by Andrae himself. The other part of his personal attack I can leave to those who know the facts. Roundels of silver with simple embossed design, Mackay, *Report*, p. 51 and Plate IV, from early graves at Kish. Mackay believes these were sewn on dress: otherwise Christian in *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXXIV, 145.

[7] (325–6) Kirkuk tablets. See bibliographical note 13 on chapter VI. The seal impression with the figures of Marduk and Nabu discussed is described by Gadd in R.A. XXIII, p. 139.

[8] (327) On the cylinder seals of Eriba-Adad and Ashur-uballit, published by Weber, *Altorientalische Siegelbilder*, nos. 316a and 354a, see Contenau, *La glyptique Syro-Hittite*, whose excellent account of the whole matter is here followed. But Weber is in error in describing no. 316*a* as Eriba-Adad's to judge from Unger, *Babylonische und Assyrische Kunst*, p. 99.

[9] (330) Seal from Gök Tepe, published by Hayes Ward in *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. V (1890), plate XVII, pp. 286–291; Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, pp. 277 ff. Seal in the British Museum, no. 102504.

[10] (331) The Elamite seals. See Legrain, *Délégation en Perse*, vol. XVI *Empreintes de cachets Élamites*.

[11] (331) Assyrian seal impressions representing buildings. I have personally seen such impressions, but none have yet been published to my knowledge.

[12] (332) Tukulti-Enurta's palace. The painted bricks are dealt with by Andrae, *Farbige Keramik aus Assur*, pp. 7–11, and plates 1–5; the account given by him on pp. 1–6 of the art is invaluable and is here followed. Pottery evidence first indicated by Hall in C.A.H. II, p. 430; British Museum, nos. 116362 and 116361.

[13] (332) "Hittite" reliefs from Sinjirli, Carchemish, Sakje Geuzi. The most acceptable account of these reliefs and of a provisional

dating for them is given in Hogarth, *Kings of the Hittites*. Other literature is there quoted.

[14] (332) Painted and glazed terra-cottas, published magnificently by Genouillac, *La Ceramique Cappadocienne* (Paris, 1926).

[15] (333) Glazing and glass in Assyria, see note 9 on chapter XIV. That the Sargon vase and another like it are of Assyrian manufacture and not Egyptian has been pointed out to me by Dr. Hall and Mr. Beck; my remark in C.A.H. III, p. 78, must not be taken to mean therefore that the vase was imported. The vase is illustrated in C.A.H., *Volume of Plates*, I, p. 232, d. The object given as such in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, I, p. 235, is of stone, C.A.H. *ibid.*, e.

[16] (333) Bas-relief on broken obelisk, plate opposite p. l in Budge and King, *Annals*. On date of obelisk inscription, see Lewy, *Der zerbrochene Obelisk Adad-nirari's II* in O.L.Z. XXVI, 197–200. The view that the narrative in the third person refers to Tukulti-Enurta I argued by him is very doubtful, see Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, I, § 386: the ascription to Tiglathpileser I in Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, p. 131, note 4, has much more in its favour. Egyptian influence noted in Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, p. 72.

[17] (335–6) Mitannian influence. The kind of influence to be expected is mainly religious: see Burrows, *Hurrian Salas* in J.R.A.S. 1927, pp. 318–20. Egyptian influence in the text concerning the scribes' art: text published in Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiosen Inhalts*, vol. I, no. 111; idem., in M.D.O.G. no. 58, p. 38. Dialogues, translated in Ebeling, M.D.O.G. no. 58; the dialogue of the master and slave translated in Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom*, Ebeling, *Quellen zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (M.V.A.G. 1918), pp. 50 ff. The suggestion that this dialogue was used in ritual connected with New Year festival mime made by Böhl, *Mimus en Drama op het Babylonische Nieuwjaarsfeest* in *Stemmen des Tijds*, X (1920–21), pp. 42 ff.; otherwise, Zimmern, *Zum babylonischen Neujahrsfest* in Z.A. XXXIV, pp. 87–8. On the connection of these dialogues with later "contest" literature, see Sidney Smith, *Notes on the "Assyrian Tree,"* p. 70, in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. IV, part i.

[18] (337) Worship of Enlil imposed by force of arms. This is the view held and expressed in numerous places by Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, and applied in other instances by other scholars.

[19] (340) *Maqlu* texts. The edition by Tallquist is still reliable, but is not now complete.

[20] (341) Lament to Ishtar of Ashurnaṣirpal I, published by Brünnow, *Assyrian Hymns*, pp. 66 ff., retranslated by Jastrow, *Religion*, vol. II, pp. 111 ff.; see also Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts*, no. 107; idem, *Quellen zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion* (M.V.A.G. 1918), pp. 58 ff.; hymn to Enurta of Ashurnaṣirpal II in Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, pp. 254 ff.

[21] (341) The poem "Let me praise the lord of wisdom," the

so-called Job text. For the texts now available, see Langdon, *Babylonian Wisdom*, p. 4. The most reliable translation is that of Ebeling in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum alten Testament* (Berlin, 1926–7).

CHRONOLOGY. NOTES

[1] (344) See Forrer, *Chronologie der neuassyrischen Zeit* (M.V.A.G. 1915, no. 3), pp. 7–9. Kugler's criticism in *Sternkunde und Sterndienst*, Teil II, Heft. 2, pp. 573 ff., unconvincing.

[2] (344) Schnabel, *Berossos*, p. 205, note.

[3] (345) Scheil, *Annales de Tukulti-Ninip II*.

[4] (345) Published by Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, nos. 21–24.

[5] (346) Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, III, pp. 356 ff.

[6] (346) See Kugler, *Sternkunde und Sterndienst*, Teil II, Heft II, p. 321.

[7] (349) The king-lists from Ashur have been edited and re-edited, and a final and correct copy of the largest of them is still required. The latest publications of the texts will be found in Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts*, and Weidner, *Die grosse Königsliste aus Assur* in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, Band III, pp. 66 ff. For the reconstitution of the list, see Weidner, *Studien zur assyrisch-babylonischen Chronologie* (M.V.A.G. 1915, no. 4); idem, *Könige von Assyrien* (M.V.A.G. 1921): idem, *Die grosse Königsliste* (loc. cit.): Schroeder, *Zur Herstellung der assyrischen Herrscherreihe*, in Z.A. XXXIII, 52 ff. Weidner's latest list is further amplified by a much broken list of Assyrian kings published by Essad Nassonhi, *Archiv*. IV. pp. 1 ff. Not all the restorations suggested can be correct.

[8] (349) K.A.V. I, no. 12; see Ungnad, in Z.D.M.G. vol. LXII, pp. 313–316. This list may be incorrect in its equation of Marduk-nadin-aḫḫe with Tiglathpileser I and Enurta-apal-Ekur, if *adukšu* in the Assyrian's inscriptions certainly means "I killed him"; but *daku* sometimes has a vaguer sense, see *Babylonian Historical Texts*, p. 19.

[9] (350) The tablet Assur 4128 in Weidner, *Die grosse Königsliste*.

[10] (351) Ukin-zer, 3 yrs. in king-list, probably identical with Nabu-mukin-zer, 4 yrs. on dated documents.

[11] (353) Forrer, *Forschungen*, Band II, Heft I, pp. 1 ff. The word taken to mean an eclipse probably refers to omens, see Götze in O.L.Z., 1927, Sp. 569.

[12] (354) King, *Tukulti-Ninib I*, pp. 118 ff.

[13] (354) Weidner, *Könige*, p. 8, followed in C.A.H. II.

[14] (354) King-lists in Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, II, and *Archiv für Orientforschung*, III, 77.

[15] (355) Budge and King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, p. 95, l. 69.

[16] (355) Messerschmidt, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, Heft I, no. 51, col. II, ll. 12–32: Luckenbill, *Records*, vol. II,

§ 706. But Schroeder, op. cit. Heft II, no. 125, col. I, l. 24, has 586: Luckenbill, op. cit. § 702. Bilabel, *Geschichte*, I, pp. 352 ff., attempts to base an exact chronology on this statement in round figures.

[17] (355) King, *Tukulti-Ninib I*, pp. 106 ff.

[18] (356) King, *History of Babylon*, p. 244, note 3. Lewy, in O.L.Z., 1923, Sp. 199, solves the difficulty by simply striking out Kadashman-Ḫarbe, considering him the same person (with name translated) as Enlil-nadin-shum. How doubtful this kind of equation is may be seen from the case of Kadashman-Enlil and Kadashman-Ḫarbe in the Kassite dynasty. Lewy goes on to identify Adad-shum-iddin with Kadashman-Buriash of the Broken Obelisk, col. III, l. 7; the equation is totally unnecessary and unconvincing.

[18a] (356) Bilabel, *Geschichte*, I, p. 352, on the basis of *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, II, no. 58; Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, I, §§ 142 ff.

[19] (357) Weidner following Ungnad in *Archiv für Orientforschung*, III, 74, note 4.

[20] (358) First pointed out by Weidner, *Studien*, pp. 47–8.

[21] (359) On this subject see Ungnad in *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*, I, pp. 32–4. Bilabel's criticism is partly misinformed.

[22] (359) Text, Messerschmidt, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, Heft I, no. 13, col. III, l. 41: Luckenbill, *Records*, I, § 119.

[23] (359) See refs. in note 16.

[24] (359) See ref. in note 15.

[25] (360) Poebel in Z.D.M.G. (N.F.) VI, pp. xliv–xlv.

[26] (360) King's unhesitating condemnation of the fashionable rejection of this synchronism on the ground that Damiq-ilishu of Nisin is intended in *History of Babylon*, p. 209, is now echoed by Poebel, loc. cit. Otherwise Meissner, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXXII, p. 297.

[27] (361) The acceptance of Itti-ili-nibi and his reign in Table 4 is merely due to the use of a dead reckoning, and must not be supposed to imply any reliance on the entries in the king-list.—For a discussion of the reading "98" in the synchronous list see Meyer, *Ältere Chronologie*, p. 12, note 2.

[28] (361) King, *Chronicles*, II, p. 14.

[29] (361) Albright has invented and inserted in a king-list an Ilushuma II, thereby filling a space which the scholars who have copied the tablet leave blank: *Revue d'Assyriologie*, XVIII, pp. 85–7.

[30] (361) Texts in Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts*, Heft II, no. 48, obv. l. 14; no. 59, col. II, l. 26. Most scholars read *ner*, 2 *soss*: Luckenbill translates, *Records*, I, §§ 181, 186, as 780, and therefore reads 13 *soss*.

[31] (362) Albright, *The Readjustment of Assyro-Babylonian Chronology by the Elimination of False Synchronisms* in *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, VIII, 51 ff.

[32] (362) The king-list published by Pinches in P.S.B.A. 1884, pp. 193 ff. (copied thence by Winckler, *Untersuchungen*, p. 145), is corrected by the date-lists published by King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, vol. II, no. 101; idem, *Chronicles*, II, 98–102;

Scheil, *La Chronologie rectifiée du règne de Hammurabi* in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, XXXIX, 111–122; idem, in *Récueil de Travaux*, XXXIV, pp. 105 ff; Boissier, *Deux tablettes inédites* in R.A. XI, pp. 161–4. Some of the dates are now amplified by Langdon, *Weld-Blundell Collection*, II, pp. 31 ff.

[33] (365) So Meissner in *Wiener Zeitschrift für Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXXII, p. 296. Bilabel, *Geschichte*, I, p. 376, maintains that the Ashurbanipal passage refers to campaigns of Shutruk-Naḫḫunte, a view I cannot share.

[34] (365) Kugler, *Sternkunde und Strendienst*, Teil II, Heft II, pp. 563 ff. *Noch einmal das Alter der I Dynastie von Babel.*

[35] (365) This is the view of Fotheringham, Schoch and Schnabel. For the literature see Schnabel, *Zur astronomischen Fixierung der altbabylonischen Chronologie* in Z.A. (N.F.), II, pp. 109 ff.

ADDENDA

P. 8. Early tablets. The system of numeration on these does not appear to be sexagesimal; M. Thureau-Dangin is therefore of the opinion that they are certainly not Sumerian, R.A. XXIV, pp. 27 ff., a view which might lend support to Mr. Campbell-Thompson's theory that the painted pottery belongs to a non-Sumerian people. But the signs are definitely Sumerian, and this fact outweighs the peculiarities of the uncertain numeral system; the statement in the text holds good.

P. 35. Ḫumbaba probably a volcano; see now Haupt in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, X, pp. 133 ff.

P. 52. Boats. Professor Elliott Smith does not admit the validity of the identification of the early boats as belonging to the Persian Gulf, *Journal of the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society*, XIII, pp. 9–10.

P. 54. Susa pottery. Mr. Woolley holds, as against the excavators, that Susa II, the household pottery, is contemporary with Susa I, the grave (ritual) pottery, see J.R.A.S., 1928, No. 1.

P. 69. On anthropomorphic pottery see de Morgan, *Préhistoire Orientale*, III, p. 336 and Fig. 345.

P. 73. Namar and Arisen. See the document published by Thureau-Dangin in R.A. IX, 1 ff.

Pp. 80–1. Sargon. The dynastic list has Sharru-kin I-lu-ba-ni, see Langdon, *Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts*, II, p. 17, ll. 31–2. This can hardly be a compound name but has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

P. 154. The speculation that the name Narmak-Ashir is a temporary one is justified by the equation of it with the month Kinatim in Clay, *Nies Collection*, IV, No. 210.

P. 172. The position of Isin, given in the map according to Langdon, Kish I, is less certain than supposed, see *Letters of Gertrude Bell*, II, p. 759.

P. 188. Albright considers the difficult poem published by Pinches (probably part of a composition similar to the Irra-myth) to be an historical account of a king whose name he reads Kudur-Laḫamal and identifies again with Chedorla ʿomer, and places the incident in the (artificial ?) gap between the First Dynasty and the Kassites; he also advances far-reaching speculations on archæological grounds in J.S.O.R. X, 231 ff., with some references to recent literature.

P. 192. Ḫabiru. Lewy has discussed this problem in O.L.Z. XXX, Sp. 738 ff. and 825 ff.; there is no new material quoted, and I am unable to accept the views advanced, so far as I understand them.

P. 203. Seal from Crete. Another cylinder seal from Crete discovered by Mr. Forsdyke near Cnossos is of the "Syro-Hittite" style.

P. 225. Qatna, modern Mushrafah, near Homo. A sphynx and other objects of XIIth Dynasty style have recently been discovered there.

P. 232. Haupt says that lapis lazuli was obtained from the north-east of Hindu Kush, see references in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, X, 99.

P. 244. On Quzzuwadna see further Götze in *Kleinasiatische Forshungen*, I, pp. 113–4.

P. 290. For strong arguments against the equation Aḫḫiawa-Achæa see Friedrich, *ibid.*, pp. 87 ff.

Pp. 311–2. Syrian sculptures. Götze, ingeniously arguing against Hogarth's Mushki theory would attribute the artistic influence to the Hurri; I am inclined to accept this theory. See O.L.Z. XXX., Sp. 939 ff.

P. 353. On the Hittite chronology proposed by Forrer, see Götze in *Kleinasiatische Forschungen*, I, 87 ff.

P. 365. Schoch, Planetentafel für Jedermann, on the basis of the equation of the 6th year of Ammizaduga with 1916–15 has provided tables for converting Babylonian dates into Julian reckoning for the First Dynasty and onwards; his tables involve a series of years, in all of which the end of the harvest can be dated to the same day.

P. 375. Note 4. On the reading *uz*, see Clay, *Nies Collection*, IV, No. 225, l. 16, the personal name *Bu-uz-a-ta-a*, certainly the same as *Buzuta*. On the other hand, I am doubtful of the reading in No. 233, l. 25, and No. 113, l. 8, but can see no inherent probability in a reading *uḫ*. The name *Dušbea* may be connected with *Teušpa*, the Cimmerian leader.

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